

THE SCOTTISH CISTERCIAN HOUSES : 1136-1487

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M.Phil

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date 28 September, 1987. _____

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date 28 September, 1987 _____

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Abstract

There is considerable extant source material concerning the Scottish Cistercian Houses between the years 1136 and 1487. Three of the Houses have extant chartularies, and there are smaller collections of documents belonging to other abbeys. In addition, the Order is mentioned in the records of other religious institutions in Scotland, and in the documents of the Scottish and English Crowns and the Papacy.

It is possible to come to an understanding of many aspects of the history of the White Monks in Scotland. These include; the life within the Houses, the monks' relations with their lay patrons, and the agricultural and economic activities of the abbeys. The history of the Order in Scotland is that of a largely stable and successful group of Houses. It is also a history of change and adaptation to time and circumstances.

The majority of the abbeys were founded by and owed much of their wealth to the generosity of Scottish royalty. Subsequent endowment was largely the work of the Anglo-Norman families of Scotland. Relationships grew between the monks and their patrons. The monks often performed services such as burials, the provision of chaplains, and the granting of hospitality. Abbots served in Royal administration, and as diplomats.

The Houses formed a close community, being descended from Rievaulx, with the single exception of Saddell, and there were frequent exchanges and contacts. The period under consideration saw an increasing emphasis on formal education, and a high proportion of the abbots and monastic officers were university educated. There is little evidence of pure scholarship. There was a decline in the numbers of laybrothers, and they were replaced by hired lay servants.

The Cistercians were major landowners, possessing large tracts of varied agricultural land, lying for the most part within easy reach of the Houses. They extended and consolidated these holdings through purchases, rentals, and exchanges. In addition to land they were well supplied with natural resources. Exploitation of land was accomplished through a system of granges. The abbeys were major wool producers, and exported to the Continent, often in their own ships. During this period, the direct exploitation of land was replaced by a rentier economy.

As well as considerable temporal possessions, the Scottish monks enjoyed 'Spiritualities'. These included; churches and chapels, grants of cash for the poor and sick, pittances, and grants to altars.

The history of the Cistercian Order in Scotland is one of steady change and adaptation to prevailing conditions within Scotland and the Order. Developments within these abbeys paralleled those throughout the Order. The Houses functioned as an integral part of the religious, political, economic, and social life of medieval Scotland.

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List of Abbreviations

* indicates abbreviations taken from the Scottish Historical Review
List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History
 to 1560.

<u>Abdn.Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*</u>
<u>ACSB</u>	<u>The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices*</u>
<u>ADC</u>	<u>The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes*</u>
<u>Alex.II Handlist</u>	<u>Regesta Regum Scottorum: A Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II, 1214-1249.</u>
<u>Alex.III Handlist</u>	<u>Regesta Regum Scottorum: A Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III, The Guardians, John, 1249-1296.</u>
<u>Analecta</u>	<u>Analecta Cisterciensia</u>
<u>Balm.Lib.</u>	<u>Liber Sancte Marie de Balmorinach*</u>
<u>Benedict XIII Letters</u>	<u>Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland: Benedict XIII of Avignon 1394-1419</u>
<u>C.A.Chrs.</u>	<u>Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*</u>
<u>C.A.Rent.</u>	<u>Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar Angus*</u>
<u>CCR</u>	<u>Calendar of the Close Rolls</u>
<u>CDS</u>	<u>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*</u>
<u>Chron.Bower</u>	<u>Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri*</u>
<u>Chron.Holyrood</u>	<u>A Scottish Chronicle Known as the Chronicle of Holyrood*</u>
<u>Chron.Lanercost</u>	<u>Chronicon de Lanercost*</u>
<u>Clement VII Letters</u>	<u>Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland: Clement VII of Avignon, 1378-1394.</u>
<u>CM</u>	<u>The Chronicle of Melrose (facsimile edition)</u>
<u>Codification 1202</u>	<u>La Codification Cistercienne de 1202 et son Evolution Ulterieure</u>
<u>Codification 1237/ 1257</u>	<u>Les Codifications Cisterciennes de 1237 et de 1257</u>

<u>CPL</u>	<u>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters *</u>
<u>CPR</u>	<u>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</u>
<u>CSSR, i</u>	<u>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-1422*</u>
<u>CSSR, ii</u>	<u>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1423-1428*</u>
<u>CSSR, iii</u>	<u>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1428-1432</u>
<u>CSSR, iv</u>	<u>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1433-1447</u>
<u>Dryb.Lib.</u>	<u>Liber S.Marie de Dryburgh*</u>
<u>Dumfriesshire Trans.</u>	<u>Dumfriesshire and Galloway Antiquarian Transactions</u>
<u>Dunf.Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum de Dunfermelyn*</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>ER</u>	<u>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*</u>
<u>ES</u>	<u>Early Sources of Scottish History 500-1286*</u>
<u>ESC</u>	<u>Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153*</u>
<u>Ferreri, Historia</u>	<u>Ferrerii Historia Abbatum de Kinloss*</u>
<u>GRH</u>	<u>General Register House, Edinburgh</u>
<u>Glas.Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*</u>
<u>Holm Reg.</u>	<u>The Register and Records of Holm Cultram</u>
<u>Holy.Lib.</u>	<u>Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*</u>
<u>Inchaff.Chrs.</u>	<u>Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*</u>
<u>Inst. Pub.</u>	<u>Instrumenta Publica 1291-96*</u>
<u>Keussen, Matrikel</u>	<u>Die Matrikel der Universitat Koln, ed., H. Keussen</u>
<u>Kinloss Recs.</u>	<u>The Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*</u>
<u>Knowles, Orders</u>	<u>D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England</u>

<u>Laing Chrs.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Laing Charters 854-1837*</u>
<u>Melr.Lib.</u>	<u>Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*</u>
<u>Melr.Recs.</u>	<u>Selections from the Records of the Regality of Melrose*</u>
<u>Moray Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*</u>
<u>MRHS</u>	<u>I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland</u>
<u>N.B.Chrs.</u>	<u>Carte Monialium de Northberwic*</u>
<u>Newb.Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum S.Marie de Neubotle*</u>
<u>OPS</u>	<u>Origines Parochiales Scotiae*</u>
<u>Pais.Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum Monasterii de Passelet*</u>
<u>PSAS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</u>
<u>RMS</u>	<u>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum</u>
<u>RSCHS</u>	<u>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</u>
<u>Rot.Scot.</u>	<u>Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*</u>
<u>RRS</u>	<u>Regesta Regum Scottorum*</u>
<u>Scalacronica</u>	<u>Scalacronica, by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Kt*</u>
<u>Scone Liber</u>	<u>Liber Ecclesie de Scone*</u>
<u>SHS</u>	<u>Scottish History Society</u>
<u>SHR</u>	<u>Scottish Historical Review</u>
<u>SRS</u>	<u>Scottish Record Society</u>
<u>St A. Cop.</u>	<u>Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*</u>
<u>St A. Lib.</u>	<u>Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*</u>
<u>Statuta</u>	<u>Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis 1116-1787</u>

<u>TA</u>	<u>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*</u>
<u>Thirds of Benefices</u>	<u>Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices</u> <u>1561-1572</u>
<u>Wigt.Chrs.</u>	<u>Wigtownshire Charters*</u>

INTRODUCTION

The first of the Cistercian Houses in Scotland was Melrose, founded in 1136 by David I. By 1273 there were eleven abbeys across Scotland, and they had become one of the wealthiest and most powerful of the Scottish monastic groups. It is the purpose of this study to examine the history of the Cistercian Order in medieval Scotland, but it is necessary to begin by understanding the environment in which the Houses existed, particularly that of Scotland and the Cistercian Order itself.

When the monks came to Scotland, they came to a country which was undergoing a number of fundamental changes¹.

The characteristic features of his [David's] reign were the settlement of the Normans, with royal encouragement, in the country and their acquisition of lands; the steady extension of feudal administration in the kingdom; and as the counterpart of these secular movements, the marked expansion of the organisation and institutions of the medieval church. (2)

The importation of Anglo-Norman families into Scotland meant a nobility already familiar with 'roman monasticism', and accustomed to lay patronage of religious institutions, an activity not common in earlier Scotland³.

The feudal developments mentioned above contributed to an ever - increasing complexity of life, and made it more and more difficult for the abbeys, as landowners, to avoid contact with lay society.

The political environment became one of increasing tension and instability. The two Interregnum periods, and the long struggle between the Scots and English kings made for major problems and upheavals. Until the sixteenth century, border strife was a frequent menace to the peace of the Scottish borders. Monasteries were perforce to be involved in the protracted difficulties, as battles and raids

¹G. W. S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots: Government Church and Society From the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Centuries, London, 1973, p. 211.

²I. B. Cowan, and D. E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland, London, (1957) 1976, p. 5.

³A. A. M. Duncan, Scotland, The Making of the Kingdom, i, Edinburgh, (1975) 1978, p. 131.

took place in their vicinities, and warring kings and nobles used the abbeys as convenient staging posts. Particularly vulnerable were those Houses which lay in the richly productive land of southern Scotland. In addition, abbots were frequently used as negotiators in the long and often difficult discussions between the two sides.

Most importantly, the Order arrived in Scotland in a period during which there were more monastic foundations made, and Orders introduced to Scotland than at any other time in the nation's history¹. Of the Orders imported to Scotland, the Cistercians have been described as The "most remarkable group of monasteries in the country"².

When King David brought the White Monks to his realm they were enjoying an enviable reputation for the piety and severity of their interpretation of the monastic life. St. Bernard was still alive, and one of the most influential figures in Christendom. In the words of Louis Lekai, the Order had not so much expanded as exploded³. By 1152 the growth was so rapid that the General Chapter sought to control it by limiting further foundations⁴. The peak years of expansion in the Order were between 1140 and 1150⁵. The pattern in England was similar⁶.

Much of the spread of the Order in England was due to the influence of the Yorkshire Houses, particularly Fountains and Rievaulx. The links between Scotland and Rievaulx were strong. Aelred the saintly abbot of Rievaulx (1147-1167)⁷ was once a member of the Scottish Royal House-

¹As above, p.1 , n. 2.

²Ibid., p. xi.

³L. Lekai, The Cistercians, Kent State University, 1977, p. 34.

⁴Statuta (1152) 1. Canivez has stipulated the form which abbreviated references to this work should take: the year of the statute in brackets, followed by the number of the statute cited.

⁵Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 46.

⁶Ibid., p. 39-40.

⁷D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and V. C. M. London, Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216, Cambridge, 1972, p. 140.

hold¹. The abbey's founder, Walter d'Espece, a Yorkshire baron, was often to be found at David's court². Thus the spread of the Order into Scotland should be seen as a part of the success of Aelred and the Yorkshire Houses.

As the Cistercians spread across Europe, they had to adapt to prevailing conditions.

... the constantly changing religious and social milieu posed new problems and new solutions ... the continued attempts to keep the Order abreast of a rapidly changing world ... often demanded compromises at the expense of genuine Cistercian traditions.
(3)

These changes included the gradual disappearance of many of the distinctively Cistercian characteristics. The Conversi declined in numbers and had virtually disappeared by the fifteenth century⁴. The Order's economic base gradually shifted its emphasis from direct exploitation to a 'rentier' economy. By the fourteenth century the rental of property to tenants had become commonplace⁵, and by the fifteenth century there was little to distinguish the Cistercians from the "older monastic orders to which at first they had stood in such notable contrast."⁶

The Sources

Very nearly all of the extant sources relevant to the history of monasticism in medieval Scotland were published between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was the work of the great Scottish historical clubs and societies. Interpretation of this material has been of only intermittent interest to scholars until recently. D. E. Easson's two volume edition "Charters of the Abbey

¹ J. M. Bulloch, "St. Waltheof", RSCHS, xi (1953), p. 110.

² Duncan, Scotland, p. 148.

³ Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 51.

⁴ J. Donnelly, The Decline of the Cistercian Laybrotherhood, New York, 1949, p. 2.

⁵ Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 307-8.

⁶ D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, i, Cambridge, 1955, p. 77.

of Coupar Angus"¹ is the only collection of Scottish Cistercian charters to have been translated and edited. He published in 1957 "Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland", revised by Ian B. Cowan in the second edition published in 1976². Professor Cowan has published "The Parishes of Medieval Scotland"³, and his "Heads of Religious Houses: Scotland" is in the process of being published. These works aside, learned works on Scottish monasticism have been published in either articles, or sections of wider works on medieval Scotland. This thesis is, therefore, an attempt to provide a more detailed history of one of the monastic orders, the Cistercians, than has been available hitherto.

The specific subject of this study is the history of the Cistercian Houses of Scotland between 1136 and 1487. There were eleven Houses: Melrose (1136); Newbattle (1140); Dundrennan (1142); Kinloss (1150); Coupar Angus (1164); Glenluce (1191); Saddell (1207); Culross (1217); Deer (1219); Balmerino (1229); Sweetheart (1273). As 1136 is the foundation date of the first of the Abbeys, it is the obvious date at which to begin this study. 1487 has been chosen as the closing date⁴. This is the date of the Indult which, by permitting a delay of eight months in the appointing of new abbots, opened the way for the system of Commendatory abbots⁵. As the 'Commendam' system made great changes in the organisation and administration of the Houses, that part of Cistercian history has not been included in this study. In addition, this thesis has been limited to the Houses of Cistercian monks, the Cistercian nuns are a study in their own right.

The sources relevant to the Scottish Cistercians are numerous. For convenience in the discussion of these sources, the most important

¹D. E. Easson, Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus, SHS, 1947.

²MRHS.

³I. B. Cowan, The Parishes of Medieval Scotland, SRS, 1967.

⁴Conversation with Professor Ian B. Cowan, Glasgow 1985.

⁵M. Dilworth, "The Commendator System in Scotland", Innes Review, xxxvii, (1986), p. 51-67.

may easily be divided into six categories; Scottish chronicles, the Cistercian charters, non-Cistercian Scottish charters, English and Scottish Government records, papal records, and records of the Cistercian Order.

Chronicles

There are two relevant Scottish chronicles; the "Chronicle of Melrose"¹, and the Chronicle known as the "Chronicle of Holyrood"². The Chronicle of Melrose was written entirely in that House, but the Holyrood chronicle takes its name from the Abbey in which it was begun. It was actually completed at Coupar Angus³, thus being, in part, a Cistercian document. Neither is a true chronicle, they are both better described as annals, being composed of yearly entries of events with little accompanying details. The Melrose chronicle is the more extensive and useful of the two, and contains a great deal of interest to this study. The other contains relatively little, and often duplicates the Melrose chronicle.

The importance of the Chronicle of Melrose lies in the detail it contains concerning individual Cistercians, particularly the abbots. It is one of the very few sources for such information as: names, dates of election, resignations, depositions, and deaths of abbots; previous and subsequent careers; travels; and the movements of abbots and officers between the Houses. Also valuable are the mentions of the visits of royalty and important laity to the Houses, donors, and donations, and the burials of laymen and women within the abbeys.

Cistercian Charters

There are almost a thousand charters belonging to the Scottish Cistercian Houses, most of them surviving in chartularies. This very considerable body of information forms the single most important

¹Chronica de Mailros, Bannatyne Club, 1835.

²M. O. Anderson, ed., A Scottish Chronicle Known as the Chronicle of Holyrood, SHS, 1938.

³Ibid., p. viii.

source for the history of the abbeys. The material is however, largely limited to three of the eleven Houses; Coupar Angus¹, Melrose², and Newbattle³. Of the remaining eight Houses, Balmerino⁴, Culross⁵, Glenluce⁶, and Kinloss⁷ have each left few charters, most of which date from after 1500. Deer, Dundrennan, Saddell⁸ and Sweetheart are virtually undocumented. Melrose's English daughter-house of Holm Cultram has a surviving chartulary⁹ in which are mentions of some of the Scottish Houses, mainly Melrose.

There is a wealth of information contained in the charters. It is, of course, mainly relevant to land, resources and related rights. It is possible to identify many of the properties controlled by the monks, the means by which they were acquired, and the nature of the properties themselves. It is also possible to trace the formation of some granges, and to achieve a general understanding of the exploitation of Cistercian land. In addition, one may determine the patterns of donation among Scottish laity.

Non-Cistercian Charters

In addition to the Cistercian charters, there are a score of chartularies surviving from non-Cistercian foundations in Scotland¹⁰. Almost all contain some reference to the White Monks, although Melrose is the abbey most commonly mentioned. These charters usually concern land, commonly settlements of disputes, and the transfer of lands

¹ See above p. 4, n. 1.

² Liber Sancte Marie de Melros, Bannatyne Club, 1837.

³ Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle, Bannatyne Club, 1849.

⁴ W. H. Turner, ed., Liber Sancte Marie de Balmorinach, Abbotsford Club, 1841, in : Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores.

⁵ W. Douglas, "Culross Abbey and its Charters", PSAS, lx (1925-6), p. 67-94.

⁶ R. C. Reid, ed., Wigtownshire Charters, SHS, 1960.

⁷ J. Stuart, ed., The Records of the Monastery of Kinloss, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1872.

⁸ J. R. N. Macphail, ed., Highland Papers, iv, SHS, 1934.

⁹ F. Grainger and W. D. Collingwood, The Register and Records of Holm Cultram, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1921.

¹⁰ See Bibliography.

by exchange, rent or purchase.

Government Records

Many of the Scottish Crown records contain references to the Cistercians. The documents include: the Acts of the Lords in Civil Causes¹; the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland²; the Register of the Great Seal³; the Register of the Secret Seal⁴; the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland⁵; the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland⁶; the Acts of the Lords in Council in Public Affairs⁷; the Ragman Rolls⁸.

The material contained in these records is varied. There are references to land, land disputes, and the monks' involvement in the wool trade. Individual Cistercians appear, usually abbots, in service to the crown. The number of references to the Cistercians is small, and the Houses most commonly mentioned are Melrose, Newbattle, and Coupar Angus.

Papal Records

Papal records concerning the Scottish Cistercians are limited; the volumes of papal letters to Scotland of Clement VII (1378-1394)⁹, and Benedict XIII (1394-1419)¹⁰, Bagimond's Roll¹¹, the Calendar of

¹T. Thomson et al., ed., Acta Dominorum Concili, Edinburgh, 1839 & 1918.

²J. Stuart et al., ed., The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1878-1908.

³J. M. Thomson et al., ed., Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, Edinburgh, 1882-1914.

⁴M. Livingstone et al., ed., Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, Edinburgh, 1908 -.

⁵J. H. Burton et al., ed., The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1877-.

⁶T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul, ed., Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1877-1916.

⁷The Acts of the Lords in Council in Public Affairs, H. M. General Register House, Edinburgh, 1932.

⁸Instrumenta Publica Sive Processus Super Fidelitatibus et Homagiis Scotorum Domino Regi Angliae Factis AD 1291-1296, Bannatyne Club, 1834.

⁹C. Burnes, ed., Papal Letters to Scotland: Clement VII (1378-1394), SHS, 1976.

¹⁰F. McGurk, ed., Papal Letters to Scotland: Benedict XIII (1394-1419) SHS, 1976.

¹¹A. I. Dunlop, ed., "Bagimond's Roll: A Statement of the Tenths of the Kingdom of Scotland", Miscellany vi, SHS, 1939.

Scottish Supplications to Rome¹. A. I. Cameron's The Apostolic Camera and the Scottish Benefices 1418-1488², and her notes on the papal letters preserved in the Department of Scottish History at Glasgow University must be included with the papal records³. The information in these sources is limited to references to individual Cistercians, and to disputes between the Houses.

Records of the Cistercian Order

Essential to any study of the Cistercian Order is J.-M. Canivez' multi-volume edition of the statutes of the Cistercian Order⁴. There are few mentions of the Scottish Houses, and these date almost wholly from before 1300. These are records of the foundations of two of the Houses, several disciplinary actions, and many instances of Scottish abbots assigned tasks in that country on behalf of the General Chapter. Also useful is the publication of the Tax Book of the Order by A. O. Johnsen and P. King.⁵

Pegolotti's Pratica della Mercatura⁶ is an essential source

¹ E. R. Lindsay and A. I. Cameron, ed., Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-1422, SHS, 1934.

A. I. Dunlop, ed., Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1423-1428, SHS, 1956.

A. I. Dunlop and I. B. Cowan, Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1428-1432, SHS, 1970.

A. I. Dunlop and D. MacLauchlan, Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1433-1447, Glasgow University, 1983.

² A. I. Cameron, ed., The Apostolic Camera and the Scottish Benefices 1418-1488, Oxford, 1934.

³ I am indebted to Professor Cowan for permission to use Dr. Dunlop's handwritten notes.

⁴ J.-M. Canivez, ed., Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786, Louvain 1933.

⁵ A. O. Johnsen and P. King, ed., The Tax Book of the Cistercian Order, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 1979.

⁶ Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura, ed., A. Evans, Massachussets, 1935.

in any study of the wool trade in Scotland¹.

The sources do have weaknesses. The fourteenth century is very poorly documented. This is a problem for Scotland as a whole, and is not limited to the Cistercians. The uneven distribution of the extant Cistercian records means that any study of the Order in Scotland must be weighted in favour of those abbeys with surviving documentation. In addition, although the material is substantial, there is often a lack of detail available. However, it is possible to achieve an understanding of many of the aspects of the history of the White Monks in Scotland. In fact, the only aspect of the Order's history which cannot be dealt with is the spiritual life of the monks.

This study falls into two sections. The first deals with what may be dubbed the 'human element'. That includes an examination of the patterns of life within the Houses; the careers and duties of the monks and abbots, the interest in learning and the formal education of the monks. Also in this section is an examination of the lay patronage of the Houses. The larger part of the thesis is concerned with land; the acquisition and the nature of agricultural and urban lands, resources and related rights and privileges; the exploitation of those properties; appropriated churches and other 'spiritualities'.

Over the centuries the monasteries became an integral part of the fabric of Scottish life. It is not possible, or advisable to separate the history of the monks from the wider history of Scotland. " ... monasteries cannot be ignored by the historian of politics, the constitution, the church, society or culture." ².

¹This source is more fully discussed on page 81.

²Barrow, Kingdom, p. 189.

Chapter One

Scottish Cistercian Life 1136-1487

It is the aim of this chapter to use the extant records concerning individual Cistercians to arrive at an understanding of the patterns of life and work within the Scottish Houses.

Section One: Choir Monks

Numbers

Evidence as to the number of choir monks prior to 1487 is very limited. Most of the information dates from the sixteenth century. The only surviving figures prior to that are supplied by two lists in the records of Kinloss. The first contains the names of twenty-five monks, and dates from 1229¹. The second, dating from 1443, lists twelve monks². One cannot be sure that these lists of names included the entire community.

Backgrounds

In 1289, Scottish monasteries in general were castigated by Pope Nicholas IV for the "detestible custom of admitting only native Scots to serve in the Scottish religious Houses"³. It has been possible to identify some two hundred and seventy of the Scottish Cistercians. Of those who have left a record of their surnames, a high proportion are recognizably Scottish, thus providing some substantiation for the papal complaint. Some are common Scottish surnames such as Murray⁴, and Douglas⁵. Others derive from Scottish place-names such as Inchmartin⁶, Dundee⁷, Peebles⁸, Haddington⁹, Glenluce¹⁰, and Aberdeen¹¹.

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis, Bannatyne Club, 1837, no. 77.

² ACSB, p. 319.

³ R. Nicholson, Scotland: the Later Middle Ages, Edinburgh (1974) 1978, p.33.

⁴ CSSR, ii, p. 57.

⁵ A. H. Christie, The Abbey of Dundrennan, Glasgow, 1914, p. 57.

⁶ C.A.Chrs., no. 87.

⁷ Ibid., no. 109. Moray Reg., no. 77.

⁸ C.A.Chrs., no. 120.

⁹ CM, p. 110.

¹⁰ Clement VII Letters, p. 67.

¹¹ Moray Reg., no. 77.

A handful of the monks are known to have been of illegitimate birth, but this is probably only a fraction of the real total. In some of these cases details as to the monks' parentage survive. Some were sons of priests, this was the case at Balmerino in 1379¹, and Kinloss in 1291². At Coupar in 1404³, and Melrose in 1419⁴, there were monks whose parents were unmarried, while at Newbattle in 1430⁵, and Glenluce in 1435⁶ there were monks whose fathers were married, while their mothers were not. There are no such details available concerning the other monks of illegitimate descent⁷. These men appear in the records because they were seeking dispensation of defect of birth in order to hold monastic office. These requests were granted, and five of these monks became abbots⁸.

It was not unknown for monks to transfer into the Cistercian life from other orders, and from the secular clergy. Their reasons for moving varied. A Bishop of Dunkeld, John the Scot, entered Newbattle c. 1203 in order to die in the monastic habit⁹. Thomas entered Coupar sometime after 1200 having been deposed as Prior by the Chapter of St. Andrews¹⁰. Some, like Robert de Keldelath, who entered Newbattle in 1260, enjoyed successful careers with the Cistercians. Robert, formerly Abbot of Dunfermline, became Abbot of Melrose in time¹¹. It was a less happy move for Patrick

¹ Clement VII. Letters, p. 36.

² W. H. Bliss et al., ed., Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, i, 537.

³ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 116.

⁴ CSSR, i, 19.

⁵ CSSR, iii, p. 123.

⁶ Ibid., iv, p. 55.

⁷ Ibid., i, p. 19; iii, p. 19-20.

⁸ See this chapter, section two.

⁹ Chron Bower, i, p. 358.

¹⁰ Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia, Bannatyne Club, 1841, p. xxx.

¹¹ Patent Rolls of Henry III, 1266-1272, p. 621. Chron Bower, ii, p. 120.

Makguffo, after only one year at Sweetheart, he requested a return to the Premonstratensians c. 1432¹. The only other monk known to have entered the Order from another was John, formerly Prior of May, who joined Balmerino before 1251².

Two laymen are known to have taken the Cistercian Habit late in life for the spiritual benefit of dying as monks. These monachi a succurendum³ were both patrons of the Order in Scotland. Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland died a monk of Melrose in 1189⁴. Sir Henry de Inchmartin entered Coupar in 1306 for an annual payment of 2m. to the Abbey⁵.

Cistercian regulations forbade the acceptance of children into the Houses⁶. Apart from one mention of a 'boy in the cloister'⁷, there are no records of youngsters in the abbeys. Only two of the Scottish monks have left evidence of their ages upon entry into the monastic life. They were both witnesses to a charter of Coupar in 1486⁸. David Monquer is described as aged sixty-nine, and fifty-two years a monk. Robert Mar is described as aged eighty-six, and sixty-nine years a monk. Thus they were both professed at the age of seventeen.

Education

There are two sorts of education to be considered here; training provided within the abbeys, and that available in the universities.

¹ CSSR, iii, p. 248.

² CM, p. 109.

³ G. G. Coulton, Scottish Abbeys and Social Life, Edinburgh, 1933, p. 55.

⁴ CM, p. 47.

⁵ C.A.Chrs., no. 87.

⁶ Statuta (1134) 78.

⁷ Kinloss Recs., p. xlii.

⁸ C.A.Chrs., no. 151.

Of the two, the least documented is the teaching available within the Houses. From the beginning there must have been some sort of education provided in each abbey as part of the noviciate. Each novice had to be well grounded in theology and the scriptures in preparation for the monastic pursuits of prayer, meditation and study. From a purely administrative point of view, the existence of an international order was dependant on a common language; Latin. There was, therefore, a need for some sort of training. In 1245, a statute of the General Chapter required that at least one House in each region be designated as a centre for the study of Theology¹.

There is no direct evidence as to the type, or extent of the education available within the Scottish Cistercian Houses. The list of university graduates suggests that there must have been some form of preparation for university, as well as the training for novices. There is some indication in the Chronicle of Melrose of pre-Scholastic scholarship. This was characterised by an emphasis on knowledge of the scriptures, and the ability to expound upon that knowledge². There are a number of descriptions of learned men in the Chronicle that fit this tradition. In 1178, Abbot Laurence of Melrose was referred to as "in divinis litteris plurimum eruditus"³. In 1265 Reginald of Roxburgh was described as "virum quidem sapientem et in divinis eloquiis solempniter predicandis valde luculentem"⁴.

From the available sources it has been possible to identify a number of Scottish Cistercians who were possibly university educated. In some cases, the identification is tentative, based either upon references by academic titles such as 'magister'⁵, or upon the coincidence of names and dates⁶. In other instances the identification is much more certain.

¹ Statuta (1245) 3.

² B. K. Lackner, "The Monastic Life According to St. Bernard", in J. Sommerfeldt, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II, Michigan, 1976, p. 60.

³ CM, p. 42.

⁴ Ibid., p. 197.

⁵ See e.g. CSSR, iii, p. 249. Ferrerius, Historia Abbatum de Kynlos, Bannatyne Club, 1839. St A. Cop., p. 405.

⁶ See e.g. J. M. Anderson, ed., The Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, SHS, 1926, p. 5, 17. Keussen, Matrikel, i, p. 377.

There are only three students known before 1400, the earliest being Thomas de Kirkcudbrych (1379x1380)¹. It seems improbable that the Scottish Cistercians waited until the last decades of the fourteenth century before sending monks to university. It is far more likely that the absence of names is due to the gaps in the records.

Prior to the foundation of the University of St. Andrews Scots were obliged to travel beyond their borders to attend university. The closest institutions were the English ones. The Bull Fulgens Sicut Stella directed Scottish monks to attend the Order's College of St. Bernard at Oxford². None have been traced there. Thomas de Kirkcudbrych of Sweetheart was granted permission to study in Oxford for five years, but does not appear in the records³. He may well have attended, as in 1404 he is referred to as 'magister', and was granted permission to go to England and teach in the schools there⁴. In theory, Oxford was a suitable choice for the Scots in terms of both the quality of the education, and geographic accessibility. In reality, it was an unlikely choice, because of the Anglo-Scottish wars.

Eleven of the Scottish monks have been traced to the Faculty of Theology at Cologne, the earliest appear in the Matriculation List of 1429⁵. One has been traced to Louvain⁶. There may well have been more, as Louvain was popular with Scots⁷. No Scottish Cistercians have been traced to the other European universities, including Paris.

¹ Clement VII Letters, p. 110.

² Statuta, Fulgens, (1335) 31.

³ Clement VII Letters, p. 110, 166, 576. CPL, iv, p. 251.

⁴ Rot.Scot., ii, p. 170.

⁵ Keussen, Matrikel, i, p. 314.

⁶ SHR, xxv, p. 331.

⁷ A. I. Cameron, "Scottish Students at the University of Paris 1466-1492", Juridical Review, xlviii (1936), p. 248.

After 1410, foreign universities were no longer the only option. The University of St. Andrews proved immediately popular. The records are limited, as only the lists of the Faculty of Arts have survived¹. In addition, it is difficult to identify the monks, as the lists do not include any information beyond the students' names. However, six of the Cistercians have been identified.

With respect to the known students, we do not have consistent information. It is, therefore, not possible to achieve a detailed picture of their university careers. It is known that most studied Theology², but many can be traced only as far as the Faculty of Arts³. This was probably in preparation for Theology. Only two are known to have studied Canon Law. For this they very properly obtained papal dispensations⁴, as it was a prohibited study for the Cistercians⁵. The only student about whose finances we have any information is Thomas de Kirkcudbrych. In 1385 he was granted the sum of £10 sterling for five years for the expenses of university⁶.

The effect of a university education on a monk's subsequent career is difficult to determine, but the Cistercians seem to have made greater use of graduates in abbey administration than in the realm of pure scholarship. In Scotland it is certainly true that while few of the known students were notable as scholars, out of the fourteen whose careers are recorded, eight became abbots⁷, two were priors⁸, one a cellarer⁹, and one a sacristan.¹⁰

¹ Anderson, Early Records, p. xxiii-xxiv.

² See e.g. Keussen, Matrikel, i, p. 314. C.A.Rent., i, p. 46.

³ See e.g. Clement VII Letters, p. 166.

⁴ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 141. SHR, xxv, p. 331. Letters Clement VII, p. 141.

⁵ Statuta, Fulgens, (1335) 38.

⁶ Clement VII Letters, p. 110.

⁷ See e.g. Keussen, Matrikel, ii, p. 253, 420, 423. ACSB, p. 65, 318.

⁸ See e.g. C.A.Rent., i, p. 39. Benedict XIII Letters, p. 305.

⁹ ACSB, p. 60. Kinloss Recs., p. xli. Ferrerius, Historia, p. 31.

¹⁰ St A. Cop., p. 405. Melr.Lib., no. 555.

Duties

The day-to-day administration of the abbey was in the hands of the officials. The offices mentioned in the Scottish sources are: prior¹, sub-prior², master of the conversi³, master of the novices⁴, cellarer⁵, porter⁶, chanter⁷, sacrist⁸, and infirmarer⁹. In spite of the requirement in Fulgens for each abbey to have a bursar¹⁰, there is no record of any such officer in the Scottish Houses.

Information concerning the activities of the monastic officials is limited to a very few references to financial matters. The porters of Coupar and Melrose administered lands and funds which provided for the relief of poor and pilgrims who came to their gates¹¹. The cellarer of Melrose is recorded as having made a cash purchase of property¹². Grants of money and pittances for sick monks were the responsibility of the infirmarer¹³.

Some monks were involved in the production of manuscripts and charters for their abbeys. There is evidence of the existence of at least two scriptoria. These were at Melrose¹⁴, and at Culross¹⁵.

¹ See e.g. Dunf.Reg., no. 179. C.A.Chrs., no. 269. CM, p. 72.

² See e.g. C.A.Chrs., no. 121. Moray Reg., no. 77. CM, p. 52.

³ CM, p. 51.

⁴ Ibid., p. 144. Holm Reg., no. 47.

⁵ See e.g. CM, p. 117. Melr. Lib., p. 215-16.

⁶ See e.g. CM, p. 110. ACSB, p. 60.

⁷ See e.g. CPL, ii, p. 400.

⁸ St A. Cop., p. 405. Melr.Lib., no. 555.

⁹ Newb.Reg., no. 42-43.

¹⁰ Statuta, Fulgens, (1335) 11.

¹¹ See Chapter Five.

¹² Melr.Lib., no. 314.

¹³ Ibid., no. 267.

¹⁴ Chron.Melrose, Introduction, passim.

¹⁵ W. K. Dickson, "The Culross Psalter", PSAS, li (1917), p. 208-13.

On occasion, the monks' duties took them outside the monastery precincts. Some were required to travel within Scotland, between abbey properties¹, and in some cases, to reside on the granges². Others travelled to England on errands for the abbots³. Still others travelled to the Continent; to Rome⁴, Flanders⁵, and to the French Houses, usually, but not always, to Cîteaux⁶. Monks were also sent to Ireland⁷.

Section Two: Abbots

Backgrounds

It has been possible to discover the previous Houses and occupations of some of the abbots. Of those whose previous careers are known, a majority had held monastic office.

Table One: Offices held by Scottish Cistercian Abbots before Election (8)

House	Abbot	Cellarer	M.Conversi	Porter	Prior	Sub-Prior
Balmerino	-	1	-	1	-	-
Coupar	2	2	1	-	2	2
Culross	-	-	1	2	2	-
Deer	-	1	-	-	3	-
Dundrennan	-	-	-	-	1	1
Glenluce	-	1	-	-	1	-
Kinloss	-	1	-	-	3	-
Melrose	5	2	1	-	3	1
Newbattle	-	5	2	2	3	1

Table One reveals that the most commonly held offices prior to election were prior and cellarer. Why this should be so is impossible to determine. Further research reveals that it was commonplace for abbots to be selected from the Chapters of the other Scottish Houses.

¹ See e.g. C.A.Chrs., no. 109.

² Melr.Lib., no. 191.

³ See e.g. CDS, ii, p. 351, 354, 359.

⁴ See e.g. ACSB, p. 75, 318.

⁵ See e.g. J. Curle, A Little Book About Melrose, Edinburgh, 1936, p. 31. O. Dellepierre, "Stalles de L'Abbaye de Melrose faites à Bruges, (1441)", Annuaire de la Société d'Emulation Flandre ou Id., iii(1841), p. 402, 410.

⁶ See e.g. CDS, ii, p. 351, 354, 359.

⁷ See e.g. Ibid., p. 464. CPR Edward I, 1301-1307, p. 377.

⁸ The information in Table One is drawn from various primary sources.

Table Two: Scottish Cistercian Monks Chosen as Abbots in Houses Other Than Their Own

House	Date*	Previous House	
Balmerino	1252	Melrose (porter)	(1)
	1392	Coupar	(2)
Coupar	1171	Melrose	(3)
	1189	Melrose (sub-prior)	(4)
	1194	Newbattle (prior)	(5)
	1200	Melrose (master of the conversi)	(6)
	1243	Newbattle (prior)	(7)
Culross	1232	Melrose (master of the conversi)	(8)
	1246	Newbattle (prior)	(9)
Deer	1220	Newbattle (prior)	(10)
	1223	Coupar	(11)
	1234	Melrose (prior)	(12)
	1252	Kinloss (prior)	(13)
	1429	Kinloss	(14)
	1435	Melrose	(15)
Dundrennan	1236	Melrose	(16)

* re dates: It has not been possible to discover the dates when each abbot was elected. Thus, in some cases, the date cited is the earliest date at which the abbot is known to have been sitting.

¹CM, p. 110.

²Clement VII Letters, p. 175-6.

³Chron. Holyrood, p. 151-2.

⁴Ibid., p. 172. CM, p. 47.

⁵CM, p. 49.

⁶Ibid., p. 50.

⁷Ibid., p. 91.

⁸Ferrarius, *Historia*, p. 29.

⁹CM, p. 107.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 72.

¹¹Ibid., p. 76.

¹²Ibid., p. 83.

¹³Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁴CSSR, iii, p. 19-20.

¹⁵CSSR, iv, p. 55.

¹⁶CM, p. 85.

Table Two continued

House	Date	Previous House	
Glenluce	c1191	Melrose (cellarer)	(1)
	1233	Melrose	(2)
	1236	Melrose (prior)	(3)
	1244	Rievaulx	(4)
Kinloss	1150	Fountains	(5)
	1174	Melrose	(6)
	1430	Coupar	(7)
	1467	Coupar (cellarer)	(8)
Newbattle	1213	Melrose (sub-prior)	(9)
	1236	Melrose (cellarer)	(10)
	1259	Melrose (cellarer)	(11)
	1269	Melrose (cellarer)	(12)

While this list is not exhaustive, it demonstrates that there was considerable movement between the Houses, primarily between mother and daughter Houses. Interestingly, there is no record of monks of other Houses being elected to the abbacy of Melrose, although her monks were a frequent choice of the other Scottish Houses.

¹CM, p. 58.

²Ibid., p. 82.

³Ibid., p. 85.

⁴Ibid., p. 91.

⁵Ferrarius, *Historia*, p. 21.

⁶CM, p. 41.

⁷ACSB, p. 15.

⁸Ibid., p. 60.

⁹CM, p. 57.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 85.

¹¹Ibid., p. 117.

¹²Ibid., p. 144.

It was not uncommon for abbots to be translated from one Cistercian House to another.

Table Three: Translation of Scottish Cistercian Abbots

House of Origin	First Abbacy	Translations	
Rievaulx	1142 Dundrennan	1147 Rievaulx	(1)
Melrose	1174 Kinloss	1189 Melrose	(2)
Melrose	1189 Melrose	1189 Rievaulx	(3)
Melrose	1189 Kinloss	1194 Melrose	(4)
Melrose	1200 Coupar	1202 Melrose	(5)
Unknown	- Holm Cultram	1215 Melrose 1216 Rievaulx	(6)
Newbattle	1216 Newbattle	1219 Melrose	(7)
Kinloss	1219 Deer	1220 Kinloss	(8)
Melrose	1236 Dundrennan	1239 Rievaulx	(9)
Melrose	1259 Newbattle	1261 Melrose	(10)
Balmerino	1396 Balmerino	1402 Newbattle	(11)
Coupar	1401 Kinloss	1430 Coupar	(12)
Newbattle	1423 Dundrennan*	1447 Coupar	(13)
Unknown	1441 Deer	1466 Newbattle	(14)

(*never sat)

¹CM, p. 37.

²Ibid., p. 41, 47. Kinloss Recs., p. 105.

³CM, p. 47.

⁴Ibid., p. 47, 49.

⁵Ibid., p. 50, 51.

⁶Ibid., p. 60, 63.

⁷ES, ii, p. 558n. CM, p. 71.

⁸CM, p. 72.

⁹Ibid., p. 85, 86.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 117, 122.

¹¹Benedict XIII Letters, p. 67, 248-9.

¹²Ferrarius, Historia, p. 29. ACSB, p. 305.

¹³ACSB, p. 129. C.A.Rent., i, p. 50.

¹⁴St A.Cop., p. 483-92. ACSB, p. 52.

Translations took place between Houses of the same 'family'. The movement in Scotland was usually upward from 'daughter' to 'mother'. Table Three demonstrates that when a monk was elected abbot of a daughter-house of his own abbey, it was quite common for him to return as abbot.

Election of Abbots

According to usage¹, abbots were to be elected by the abbey chapter under the supervision of the father-abbot. The Cistercians jealously guarded their freedom from outside interference, but it proved impossible to avoid some papal intervention.

Table Four: Scottish Cistercian Abbots Provided by Rome

House	Date	Abbot	
Coupar	1447	Thomas Livingston	(2)
	1467	David Bane	(3)
	1480	John Shanwell	(4)
Deer	1430	David Cran	(5)
	1483	James Pithendreith	(6)
Kinloss	1440	John Ellam	(7)
	1467	James Guthry	(8)
Newbattle	1392	John de Halles	(9)
	1413	William Manuel	(10)
	1478	John Achinson	(11)
Saddell	c1393	Macratius	(12)

¹ Codification 1202, Distinction VII, no. 13.

² C.A.Rent., i, p. 50.

³ ACSB, p. 140.

⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

⁵ CSSR, iv, p. 116-17.

⁶ ACSB, p. 80.

⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

⁸ C.A.Rent., i, p. 87.

⁹ Clement VII Letters, p. 176-7.

¹⁰ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 248.

¹¹ ACSB, p. 75.

¹² Clement VII Letters, p. 195.

In 1392 Balmerino was reserved to papal provision¹, the same happened to Kinloss in c.1371x1401². This did not mean that all subsequent abbots were papal choices. In 1396 John de Gygin was elected by the Chapter of Balmerino, and later approved by the Pope when an investigation proved him to be suitable for the post³.

Papal choices of abbot were not always popular. John de Halles, although a Cistercian and a monk of Melrose, was refused by Newbattle in 1392. He was forced to obtain a mandate from Rome to enforce his provision⁴.

There are three recorded cases of abbots accused of unlawful seizure of their abbeys. In 1443, Laurence of Lindores was ordered to be tried for the unlawful seizure of Culross. In spite of his papal provision of 1435, a petition was sent to the Council of Basle in 1437 by the Abbey, requesting the confirmation of the election of Robert of Widale⁵. Newbattle's Abbot, John Guky, was deposed in 1412 for forced entry⁶, and in c 1453 Christine (sic) Macoceallayne was accused of intrusion into Saddell⁷. There was a contested election at Deer in 1458⁸.

Resignations

The Order permitted abbots to resign their positions voluntarily⁹. In many cases the reason was ill health¹⁰, or advanced age¹¹. In one

¹ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 67.

² Ibid., p. 305.

³ Ibid., p. 67.

⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

⁵ St A. Cop., p. 375-6, 383.

⁶ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 249-50.

⁷ A. L. Brown, "The Cistercian Abbey of Saddell, Kintyre", Innes Review, xx (1969), p. 135.

⁸ CPL, xi, p. 344, 585. ACSB, p. 47, 48.

⁹ Codification 1202, Distinction VII, no. 19.

¹⁰ See e.g. CM, p. 117.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 72.

case in 1267, the Abbot of Deer resigned, as he loathed the place¹. In a very few instances, it has been possible to discover the Houses to which abbots retired. Only one is known to have remained in the House in which he was abbot. It was not a requirement that an abbot who retired must move to another abbey². In Scotland, those abbots who did move were those who had been abbots in Houses other than those in which they had professed. The common choice on retirement seems to have been to return to their original abbey³. At least one of these men held monastic office after relinquishing his abbacy; Abbot Gilbert of Glenluce returned to Melrose in 1235, and became Master of the Novices⁴.

Cistercian abbots were occasionally elected as Bishops.

Table Five: Scottish Cistercian Abbots Elected to Bishoprics

Abbot	Date	See
Waldeve of Melrose	1159	St. Andrews (never Sat) (5)
Joceline of Melrose	1174	Glasgow (6)
Ralph of Melrose	1202	Downpatrick (7)
Adam of Melrose	1213	Caithness (8)
Andrew of Buchan*	1297	Caithness (9)

*This identification is not certain .(10)

¹ CM, p. 129.

² Statuta (1214) 49.

³ See e.g. CM, p. 57, 58, 83. Holm Reg., p. 47.

⁴ CM, p. 83.

⁵ Bulloch, "St. Waltheof", p. 79.

⁶ CM, p. 41.

⁷ Ibid., p. 51.

⁸ Ib d., p. 57.

⁹ CDS, i, p. 176.

¹⁰ D. E. R. Watt, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638, SRS, 1969, p. 59.

Table Five Continued

<u>Abbot</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>See</u>
Thomas Livingston of Dundrennan	1460	Dunkeld (never sat) (1)

Waldeve refused the See, in spite of the urgings of St. Aelred, pleading the imminence of his own death, quite correctly as it happened². The approval of the Order for the election to Glasgow of Joceline of Melrose is apparent in that he was consecrated at Clairvaux³.

Depositions

There is very little detail recorded concerning the deposition of the Scottish abbots. Twelve are known to have been deposed, and there is one abbot who may have been deposed, but it is not possible to be certain⁴. Of these thirteen men, eight are described as having been removed from office, but no further details survive⁵. The Causes of depositions are known in only three cases. Richard, founding Abbot of Melrose was removed because of the severity of his rule⁶. Adam de Maxton was deposed as Abbot of Melrose in 1267 for not deposing the Abbot of Holm Cultram⁷. Abbot John of Coupar was deposed in 1405, after an investigation. It was alleged that he had permitted his monks to wander, alienated the Abbey's goods, kept concubines, and refused to permit the visitation of his father-abbot⁸. Abbot John Gygy was deposed from the Abbey of Sweetheart for unspecified ~~abuse~~

¹ C.A.Rent., i, p. 50.

² Bulloch, "St Waltheof", p. 110.

³ CM, p. 41.

⁴ A. H. Christie, The Abbey of Dundrennan, Glasgow, 1914, p. 44.

⁵ C.A.Rent., i, p. 39. St A.Cop., p. 383. Ferrerius, Historia, p. 31.

⁶ Bulloch, "St. Waltheof", p. 119.

⁷ Statuta (1266) 51.

⁸ Kinloss Recs., p. xl. Benedict XIII letters p. 104.

abuses¹. In 1435 Arthur de Tulan was removed as Abbot of Deer as he was of illegitimate birth, and had not obtained dispensation².

In only a small number of cases is it possible to determine who did the deposing. In the five instances in which we are sure how the abbots were deposed, three were removed after investigations ordered by the Pope³, one by the General Chapter⁴, and one by the father-abbot⁵. The deposition of Abbot Matthew of Melrose in 1261 was deeply resented by his community⁶. This appears to have been the sort of arbitrary deposition which Parvus Fons was intended to prevent. The 1265 Bull specifically deals with the arbitrary removal of abbots by their father-abbots⁷.

Two abbots were disciplined by the General Chapter. The Abbot of Dundrennan had advised his son-abbot, the Abbot of Glenluce, to miss the General Chapter because of the threat of war, and his advice was followed. The General Chapter did not approve, and the two were punished. The Abbot of Dundrennan was sentenced to "sex diebus levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua", and the Abbot of Glenluce to "extra stallum abbatis permaneat, ut omni sexta feria ieiunet in pane et aqua."⁸

Duties

There is very little information available concerning the routine work of the abbots. The sources in general refer only to the activities which took the abbots outside their monasteries. These included task for the Order, and for Rome. Work was undertaken for the Crown within and without Scotland.

¹ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 67-68.

² CSSR, iv, p. 55.

³ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 104, 248-50. Kinloss Recs., p. xl. CSSR, iv, p. 55.

⁴ Statuta (1266) 51.

⁵ Bulloch, "St. Waltheof", p. 36.

⁶ ES, ii, p. 600. CM, p. 122.

⁷ Statuta, Parvus Fons, (1265) 8.

⁸ Statuta (1199) 29, 30.

The work undertaken by the abbots within the Order, but outside their own abbeys included; the visitation of daughter-houses, acting in disputes between Cistercian abbeys¹, conducting investigations ordered by the General Chapter², and attendance at the General Chapter.

At visitation, the father-abbot's duties included the supervision of the election of new abbots, and on occasion, their deposition. The Order's regulations concerning the deposition of abbots by their father-abbots were designed to prevent arbitrary decisions, and to keep the final authority in the hands of the General Chapter³. Adam de Maxton, the Abbot of Melrose was himself deposed for not deposing the Abbot of Holm Cultram. The Chronicle of Melrose adds the comment that the latter deserved his fate, as he had engineered the deposition of his predecessor who was ultimately re-instated⁴.

Because of the distances involved, the Scottish abbots were required to attend the General Chapter only every four years⁵. As mentioned earlier in this chapter⁶, two of the Scottish abbots were punished for non-attendance. The presence of a small number of Scottish abbots at the Chapter is recorded because they died on the journey⁷.

¹ See e.g. Statuta (1252) 32.

² See e.g. Statuta (1240) 52.

³ Statuta, Parvus Fons, (1265) 8.

⁴ CM, p. 129.

⁵ Codification 1202, Distinction V, no. 2.

⁶ See above, p. 24.

⁷ See e.g. CM, p. 75, 76, 91, 113.

The popes made use of the abbots in a variety of tasks; providing churchmen to benefices¹, collecting papal taxes², investigating complaints, and the conduct of churchmen³, and the arbitration of disputes between religious institutions⁴. some abbots were appointed as papal chaplains⁵, and a number were granted the right to a mitre and ring⁶.

The Scottish kings frequently called upon the abbots as royal official, and as ambassadors and negotiators.

By virtue of their rank, the abbots could and did sit in the Scottish Parliament⁷. A number appear in the sources as crown officials. Several of the Abbots of Coupar Angus were Royal Auditors of Causes and Complaints⁹. Abbot William of Dundrennan was Chamberlain of Galloway between 1456 and 1473¹⁰. Andrew Hunter, Abbot of Melrose was Treasurer in 1449¹¹. Although the Abbots of Newbattle do not appear in the records as officers of the Exchequer, the Exchequer itself was occasionally held in the Abbey¹².

the Abbot of Balmerino was Royal Ambassador to Rome in 1425¹³.

¹ See e.g. Benedict XIII, Letters, p. 319.

² See e.g. C.A.Chrs., no. 64.

³ See e.g. St A.Cop., p. 241.

⁴ See e.g. Newb.Reg., no. 127.

⁵ See e.g. Clement V I L t e r s, p. 175-6.

⁶ See e.g. CSSR, i, p. 56-57. Benedict XIII Letters, p. 50.

⁷ See e.g. Newb.Reg., p. xxii. C.A.Rent., i, p. 30, 48.

⁸ See e.g. ER, i, p. 49, 59, 452.

⁹ C.A.Rent., i, p. 45.

¹⁰ Christie, The Abbey of Dundrennan, p. 44.

¹¹ TA, i, p. xxx.

¹² TA, i, p. xvi.

¹³ CDS, iv, p. 200.

Patrick of Selkirk, the Abbot of Melrose, was one of the¹ Ambassadors to the French Court ordered captured by Edward I in 1299. The abbots appear most often in the negotiations with England. Roger, Abbot of Newbattle, assisted at the conference between Alexander III and Henry III in 1255². In 1284, Andrew of Coupar was Royal Envoy of Alexander III to Edward I³. Abbot John de Hayles of Balmerino was one of those commissioned in 1423 to treat for the liberation of King James⁴. In 1449, Abbot Andrew of Melrose was one of the six commissioners to England to treat for a truce⁵. In 1281 the Abbot of Balmerino was one of those drowned on the return journey from Norway where they had accompanied Margaret of Scotland to her marriage to the King.⁶

Section Three: The Conversi

The conversi are the least documented members of the Cistercian communities. The records contain very few references and leave a number of questions extremely difficult to answer: the numbers of the laybrothers; their duties and employments; the chronology of their decline.

There are only a handful of conversi known by name, all from Melrose;

Albino	1164x1214 (7)
Walter	1165x1214 (8)
Alan	1174x1214 (9)
Henry	1266 (10)

¹CDS, ii, p. 271. Barrow, Kingdom, p. 251.

²Newb.Reg., P. xviii.

³C.A.Chrs., ii, p. 269.

⁴CDS, iv, p. 188, 189, 190, 190-1.

⁵Ibid., p. 246-8, 250, 251, 252, 259-60.

⁶Balm.Lib., p. iii. Duncan, Kingdom, p. 592.

⁷Melr.Lib., no. 221.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., no. 74.

¹⁰Patent Rolls Henry III, 1266-1272, p. 602.

There are three other men, mentioned as having been in charge of ships of their abbeys. They were most probably laybrothers, rather than choir monks. They were: Gilbert Fabre of Coupar Angus (1225)¹; Thomas Boulden of Melrose (1225 and 1230)²; and William de Bueldon of Melrose (1230)³. In addition, there are the conversi mentioned in Jocelin of Furness' Life of St. Waltheof⁴. This list must be used with caution, as it was written some fifty years after the events it describes. It names seven conversi; Henry, Lamber, Henry, Richard, Silbinus, Taibald, and Walter.

It is not possible to judge the numbers of the laybrothers. In many abbeys outside Scotland the numbers of laybrothers was high. At Waverley in 1187, there were 120 laybrothers, and at Meaux in 1249 there were 90⁵. In most cases, in their heyday, the conversi outnumbered the monks⁶. One writer has stated that Melrose had 200 laybrothers. However, as the source for that statement is not cited, it is difficult to judge its accuracy⁷. Bedford Franklin has estimated that from an administrative point of view, Melrose needed at least eighteen conversi, judged on the basis of the number of granges⁸. He does not explain his criteria for this opinion.

Duties

The conversi were responsible for most of the labour in the work of the abbey. This included craft skills as well as agricultural pursuits⁹. However, like the monks, they could bear considerable administrative responsibility. The Life of St. Waldef lists a

¹CDS, i, p. 162.

²Patent Rolls Henry III, 1216-1225, p. 519.

³Ibid., p. 519; 1225-1232, p. 332.

⁴Bulloch, "St. Waltheof", passim.

⁵Ibid., p. 121-30.

⁶Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 336-7.

⁷Melrose Abbey, H.M.S.O., 1948, p. 2.

⁸T. Bedford Franklin, A History of Scottish Farming, London, 1952, p. 27.

⁹J. S. Donnelly, The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood, New York, 1949, p. 19.

conversus as Steward of the Cattle, and another in charge of the Guest-House¹. At Coupar, one at least of the granges was in the charge of a laybrother².

With regard to the work of the conversi on Cistercian granges, Platt has stated that they were in charge of the granges from the beginning³. This entailed far more than providing physical labour, as "the Order was unlikely to have been able to ... have met their labour requirements wholly, or even principally " from the laybrothers⁴. There is limited evidence of laity on the lands of the Scottish Cistercians, as will be discussed in the next section. Thus it is entirely possible that the Scottish conversi bore some of the burden of agricultural administration and supervision.

There is a single reference to a conversus of Melrose, Alan, who in 1174x1214 was described as having been of assistance to Alan, son of Walter, of Galloway. He was rewarded for this unspecified service with a grant of land⁵. The use of the laybrothers by influential laymen was not unusual⁶.

Decline

As all the known conversi date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and there are only a very few references after that period, it is not possible to come to any conclusions regarding the decline of the conversi in Scotland. However, as discussed in the chapter on land exploitation, the gradual change from self-exploitation to rental of lands to tenants implies that the decline of the laybrotherhood in Scotland paralleled that of those elsewhere in the Order⁷. The latest mention of laybrothers at Coupar is 1305⁸, and Conversi at Melrose are not mentioned after 1389⁹.

¹ Bulloch, "St Waltheof", p. 121-128.

² CM, p. 61.

³ C. Platt, The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: A Reassessment, London, 1969, p. 76.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 74.

⁶ Donnelly, Laybrotherhood, p. 19.

⁷ Ibid., passim.

⁸ C.A.Chrs., i, p. xlix.

⁹ CDS, iv, p. 88.

Laity

In spite of the ideal of complete isolation from the lay world, laity did work on Cistercian lands, and even within the abbeys themselves. Provision was made early in the Order's history for hired labour to augment the monks and conversi¹. The Scottish Houses have left no record of servants within the monasteries prior to the sixteenth century, with the exception of occasional mentions of grooms accompanying monks and abbots², and the permission granted for mass in the abbey church in 1394 for "those who served Melrose"³.

Melrose and Coupar both controlled lands which contained Nativi, or serfs. Coupar was granted a Brieve in 1248 ordering the return of fugitive serfs of their land of Glenisla⁴. Melrose was granted land in 1316 at St. Boswell's "cum omnibus nativis hominibus"⁵.

Individual Cistercians

Although comparatively few of the Cistercians have left us records of their lives and characters, there is no room here for an examination of all of them. A brief look at the lives of two monks and two abbots should serve to illustrate the variety of character and experience within the Order in Scotland.

There could be no greater contrast than the lives of Adam of Lennox and William Butler. Adam was a monk of Melrose, described in the Chronicle of Melrose. According to this source he never slept, dividing the night between prayer, and the singing of "molets", accompanying himself on the harp. During the day he sat outside with his psalter, distributing bread to the poor. His reputation attracted wide attention from the laity, many of whom sought his blessing⁶.

¹ See e.g. Statuta (1152) 11; (1157) 33, 42.

² See e.g. CDS, ii, p. 351, 354.

³ OPS, i, p. 76. See below, p. 101-2.

⁴ Alexander II Handlist, no. 375.

⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 416, 417, 418.

⁶ CM, p. 120-1.

William Butler was a monk of Kinloss. Circa 1467-1482, he murdered a boy in the cloister of that Abbey. He was sent, with another monk, to Rome to obtain a letter of absolution. The letter arrived in Scotland in due course, but neither monk was seen again¹.

Perhaps the best known of the Scottish Abbots is St. Waldeve, or Waltheof. As a stepson of King David I, he was the son of the Earl of Northampton, and the brother of the Earl of Northumbria. A protegee of Aelred of Rievaulx, he shared his characteristic gentleness and generosity, and was a much loved and revered abbot. He was the second Abbot of Melrose, and ruled from 1148-1159. He was elected Bishop of St. Andrews, but refused the See, and died shortly thereafter. He was canonized after many miracles at his tomb².

Thomas Livingston was a very different man, the son of a single woman and a married man³, he was a monk of Newbattle. He obtained a B.A. and M.A. at the University of St. Andrews⁴, and matriculated in Theology at Cologne⁵. In 1432 he joined the Council of Basle, and played a prominent part in its activities⁶. In 1423, he had been made Abbot of Dundrennan, and was nominated Bishop of Dunkeld in 1440, but sat in neither post. He became the first Commendatory Abbot of Coupar Angus in 1441⁷, and was in addition, Rector of a parish in Galloway, Administrator of the Monastery of St. Christopher near Turin, and Confessor and Councillor to James II⁸. In 1451 he published a work on the obligations of monastic service⁹.

¹Kinloss Recs., p. xlii.

²CM, p. 41, 87.

³CSSR, ii, p. 8.

⁴St A. Cop., p. 490.

⁵Keussen, Matrikel, i, p. 253.

⁶C.A.Rent., i, p. 50.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹St A. Cop., p. 359-65.

Conclusion

Although the sources are limited, it is possible to trace some of the patterns of life within the Scottish Cistercian Houses.

It is not possible to determine the sizes of the communities, or the variations therein, but the Cistercians do appear to have maintained a stable presence in Scotland. The only record of the temporary dispersal of a community is that of Coupar Angus¹. The monks were, judging from the surviving names, predominantly Scots. The organisation of the Houses appears to have been efficient, and characteristically Cistercian, with monks, and conversi assuming the burdens of administration, much of the responsibility for agriculture falling to the laybrothers. Education became more and more common, with educated monks being assigned administrative tasks, rather than pursuing scholarly activities. The make-up of the communities in Scotland changed, as elsewhere in the Order, as the conversi declined and were replaced by hired laity.

There was a great deal of movement by the Scottish Cistercians. There was frequent travel between properties, and on business to England, Ireland and the Continent, but more important to the life of the Monasteries, was the frequent contact between the Scottish Cistercian Houses. Apart from the usual contact of day-to-day affairs and yearly Visitations, the abbeys regularly exchanged monks to serve as abbots. These were for the most part, exchanges between Houses of the same affiliation. However, as all the Scottish Houses, with the single exception of Saddell, were descended from Rievaulx, there were close family connections between ten of the eleven abbeys. This must have ensured a similarity of practice, and a 'community spirit' among the Scottish Cistercians.

¹P. King, "Coupar Angus and Cîteaux", Innes Review, xxvii (1976), p. 53.

Chapter Two

The Scottish Cistercian Houses
and Their Lay Patrons

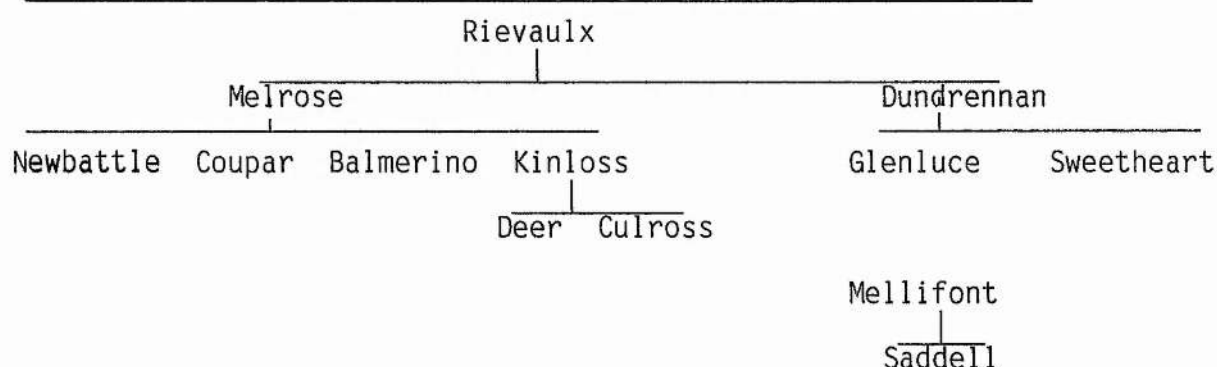
The Scottish Cistercians owed their foundations and endowment to the generosity of the Scottish laity. The patterns of lay patronage, and the resultant relationships between the abbeys and their lay patrons is an essential part of the history of the Order in Scotland. The major source of information as to the identities of the Order's donors, and the nature of their grants is the surviving body of Cistercian charters. These, as discussed in the Introduction¹, are not equally divided between the Houses, and our information is most detailed for Coupar Angus, Melrose and Newbattle. There are no extant foundation charters for these abbeys, and we are dependant on later confirmations which are possibly incomplete. Other sources such as the Chronicle of Melrose and the government records provide information as to the types of contact between the abbeys and their patrons².

It must be made clear that this chapter is concerned with the identities of the patrons, and the patterns of donation. The nature of their grants, and the extent of the abbeys' endowments shall be discussed in a later chapter.

The Foundations

Eleven Houses were founded in Scotland between 1136 and 1273.

Table One: The 'Family Tree' of the Scottish Cistercian Houses



¹ See Introduction, p. 5-6.

² See Introduction, p. 7.

Six were founded by royalty, five by nobility.

Table Two: Royal Foundations of Cistercian Houses in Scotland

House	Date	Founder
Melrose	1136	David I
Newbattle	1140	David I and his son Earl Henry
Dundrennan	1142	David I
Kinloss	1150	David I
Coupar	1164	Malcolm IV
Balmerino	1227	Queen Ermengarde and son Alexander II (1)

All were founded by members of the same family.

It is notable that four of the six royal foundations were the work of David I. His introduction of the Order to Scotland has been called "the largest and most significant contribution by David I to the religious life of his kingdom."² The Houses he founded were all successful, three being the only Scottish Cistercian abbeys to found daughter-houses.

Table Three: Non-Royal Foundations of Cistercian Houses in Scotland

House	Date	Founder
Glenluce	1191	Roland, Lord of Galloway
Culross	1217	Malcolm, Earl of Fife
Deer	1219	William Comyn, Earl of Buchan
Saddell	1207	Reginald, Lord of the Isles
Sweetheart	1273	Devorgilla de Balliol, Lady of Galloway (3)

All five of these founders were of the highest rank of the nobility. They were, with the exception of Reginald, all members of the Anglo-Norman nobles who came to Scotland with the return of David I⁴.

Preparations for Foundation

There were two preliminary steps in the foundation of a Cistercian House; securing the consent of the Order, and the selection and inspection of the proposed site. It was a rule of the Order that new

¹MRHS, p. 73-77.

²Duncan, Scotland, p. 148.

³MRHS, p. 74-78.

⁴Duncan, Scotland, p. 137-41.

foundations could only be made with the approval of the General Chapter¹. Only two such applications for approval have survived, these are for Culross and Deer, being submitted in 1214². The Abbots of Kinloss, Coupar, and Newbattle were told to inspect the proposed sites. The sites offered were not always suitable as the incidence of re-location elsewhere reveals. Lekai states that one-third of the English Houses were forced to move because of problems with their original sites³. It is, therefore particularly notable that there is no evidence of such moves in Scotland.

In two instances, the charters reveal some of the preparations by the founders. At Balmerino, Queen Ermengarde purchased the land she offered as the site for the House. Her preparations began in 1225, and included cash payments for the lands, and the obtaining of quitclaims from other interested parties⁴. At Melrose, King David's endowments included the site of Old Melrose⁵. In compensation to St. Cuthbert's of Durham, the mother-house of that defunct abbey, he granted the church of St. Mary of Berwick⁶. This must have been intended to prevent future disputes between the two monasteries.

There is evidence that the Cistercians Houses in Scotland were founded, in at least some instances on already cultivated lands. The land purchased for Balmerino was all purchased from one owner, and may well have formed an estate, or parts thereof. Coupar Angus was granted an entire royal estate for its site⁷.

¹ Statuta (1152) 1.

² Statuta (1214) 49.

³ Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 284.

⁴ Balm.Lib., no. 4.

⁵ MRHS, p. 73.

⁶ Ibid., p. 51. ESC, p. 376. Barrow, Kingdom, p. 206-7.

⁷ MRHS, p. 73.

Some of the sites granted to the White Monks in Scotland had previous connections. There had been earlier monasteries at both Melrose¹, and Deer². Culross had long been associated with the life of St. Serf³. Indeed, the Abbey was known as St. Serf's⁴. This was, of course, unusual in the Order whose churches were usually dedicated to the Virgin. Balmerino's dedication to St. Edward appears to have been part of a local reverence for the saint, not to an association with the site.

The Patrons

Once the Houses were founded, their holdings were extended through the grants of lands and resources, as well as valuable rights, privileges and exemptions. The charters reveal that these were granted by three main groups of laity; royalty, the upper nobility, and the lesser nobility and landowners. There were, in addition, a very small number of men described as burgesses.

The majority of the Houses were royal foundations, and all the Kings from David I to Robert the Bruce appear in the charters⁵. While there were several grants, some being of considerable value, on the whole, royal generosity seem to have been limited to the granting of confirmations and re-confirmations of previous grants⁶.

¹ESC, p. 376.

²MRHS, p. 47.

³Dickson, "The Culross Psalter", p. 209.

⁴CM, p. 110.

⁵See e.g. Newb.Reg., no. 1,9. Melr.Lib., no. 23, 258, 259.

⁶See e.g. Kinloss Recs., no. 11. Newb.Reg., no. 277.

Due to the scarcity of fourteenth century sources, it is not possible to determine the extent of royal patronage during most of that century. Later kings seem to have done little for the Houses beyond confirmations, and the creation of Cistercian estates into Free Baronies and Free Burghs¹.

Most of the post-foundation grants were the gifts of the nobility. The most powerful nobles and their families followed the royal example of substantial generosity towards the Order. The names of these great families reveal that they were members of the Anglo-Norman families who colonized Scotland after the return of David I. Cistercian patrons included: Ridell²; de Quinci³; de Moreville⁴; de Brus⁵; de Hay⁶; Lindsay⁷; Comyn⁸; Avenel⁹; Balliol¹⁰; Graham¹¹. The Earls of Atholl¹², Buchan¹³, Carrick¹⁴, Crawford¹⁵, Douglas¹⁶, Dunbar¹⁷, Mar¹⁸, Strathearn¹⁹, all appear in the charters as donors and as confirmators of the charters of feudal inferiors and families. The great Lords of Galloway were

¹ See e.g. Kinloss Recs., no. 15. C.A.Chrs., no. 155. Newb Reg., no. 150.

² Melr.Lib., no. 289.

³ See e.g. Balm.Lib., no. 38. C.A.Chrs., no. 18.

⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 95.

⁵ Ibid., no. 169, 174.

⁶ C.A.Chrs., no. 82. Balm.Lib., no. 51.

⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 12, 143.

⁸ See e.g. C.A.Chrs., no. 62. Melr.Lib., no. 319.

⁹ Melr.Lib., no. 40.

¹⁰ Newb.Reg., no. 158.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 7, 56.

¹² See e.g. C.A.Chrs., no. 22.

¹³ See e.g. Ibid., no. 62.

¹⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 37, 189, 216.

¹⁵ Newb.Reg., no. 292.

¹⁶ Wigt.Chrs., no. 1.

¹⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 6.

¹⁸ C.A.Chrs., no. 115.

¹⁹ See e.g. C.A.Chrs., no. 35.

A great many of the grants made to the monks were by lesser members of the great families¹, and members of the land-owning classes². There were close geographical ties between these laymen and the Houses they patronised. Most had land in the near vicinity of the monks and their properties. The burgesses who made grants were all from towns in or near which the monks held land³.

It was not uncommon for more than one member of a family to make donations to the Order, often to the same House. It was common for gifts to be made by both husband and wife: Eve and Roger de Quinci made separate gifts to the Cistercians, Eve to Melrose, and Roger to Newbattle⁴. Also common were grants by successive generations; Robert Avenel and his son Gervase, Walter Ridale and his son Patrick all made individual grants to Melrose⁵. In addition, there is one instance of gifts made by two sisters Mariota and Ada de Ross⁶. An interesting group of charters records the grants of a brother and sister, Maria and Oliver de Hales, and Oliver's nephew Adam de Fraser⁷. All of their grants were to Newbattle.

Relations Between the Abbeys and their Donors

There is evidence that the contact between the Houses and their lay patrons resulted in relationships that went beyond the granting of lands and other benefits. The Chronicle of Melrose describes

¹ See e.g. Melr.Lib., no.113.

² See e.g. Ibid., no. 290.

³

See e.g. Ibid., no. 238, 315.

⁴ Ibid., no. 49. Newb.Reg., no. 133.

⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 283, 236, 287.

⁶ Newb.Reg., no. 50, 53.

⁷ Ibid., no. 73, 76, 77, 91, 92.

both Robert Avenel and Walter fitz Alan as "our intimate friend"¹. As discussed in the previous chapter, the monks did perform services for the nobility. Some laymen chose to assume the Cistercian habit in order to die in the monastic life². Others chose to be buried within the abbeys.

Table Four: Lay Burials with the Scottish Cistercian Houses

House	Date	Name	
Balmerino	1233	Queen Ermengarde	(3)
Coupar	1220	Sir William Munfichet	(4)
	1231	Thomas, brother of Alan of Galloway	(5)
	1232	Malcolm, son of Eugenius of Dunkeld	(6)
	1305	William de Hay, Lord of Athmores	(7)
		The Lords of Erroll:	(8)
	-	Nicholas de Hay	
	1333	Gilbert de Hay	
	1346	David de Hay	
	1406	Thomas de Hay	
	-	David son of Thomas	
	1436	William de Hay	
	1436	Gilbert, son and heir of William	
	1460	William de Hay	
	1467	Nicholas de Hay	
Culross	1230	Malcolm, Earl of Fife	(9)
Dundrennan	1234	Alan, Lord of Galloway	(10)
Melrose	1215	Philip de Valoniis, the King's Chamberlain	(11)
	1219	William de Valoniis	(12)
	1241	Christianna Corbet	(13)
	1241	John de Maxwell	(14)

¹CM, p. 93.

²See above, p. 12.

³CM, p. 85.

⁴C.A.Chrs., no. 30, 31.

⁵CM, p. 81.

⁶C.A.Chrs., no. 40.

⁷Ibid., no. 82.

⁸"The Errol Papers, 1138-1727", Spalding Club Miscellany, ii, p. 347-8.

⁹CM, p. 80.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 83.

¹¹Ibid., p. 61.

¹²Ibid., p. 71.

¹³Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁴Ibid.

Table Four Continued

House	Date	Name	
Melrose	1242	William de Somerville	(1)
	1242	Walter de Olifard	(2)
	1243	Adam de Baggate	(3)
	1243	Roger de Avenel	(4)
	1246	Henry de Balliol	(5)
	1247	Philip de Peccokes	(6)
	1247	Robert de Curry	(7)
	1247	Adam de Balliol	(8)
	1247	Adam de Lomokestun	(9)
	1247	William de Grenlaw	(10)
	1248	John de Crawford	(11)
	1249	Alexander II	(12)
	1250	Robert de Muscamp	(13)
	1256	Lord Walleran de Normanville	(14)
	1262	Lord T. son of Raynulf	(15)
	1269	Lora, Countess of Atholl	(16)
Sweetheart	1290	Devorgilla de Balliol	(17)

It must be noted that the above list is not exhaustive.

¹CM, p. 90.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 91.

⁶Ibid., p. 107.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p. 108.

¹³Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 113.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 144.

¹⁷Chron.Lanercost, p. 134.

It is evident from Table Four that these burials were quite commonplace. Most of those known to have been interred in the abbeys were donors, or the relatives of donors. It was frequently the case that many members of the same family chose burial within the same abbey. The long list of the Lords of Errol buried within Coupar is clear witness to this. Both Sir William Munfichet¹, and Malcolm of Dunkeld left their bodies to Coupar for burial². Malcolm also specified that his heirs would follow suit. Roger de Avenel was buried beside his father³, as were Adam de Balliol⁴, and William de Valoniis⁵. Adam de Balliol's father Henry was originally buried at Kelso, and was re-interred at Melrose⁶.

In some instances the sources mention the exact location of these burials. Some were within the churches⁷. Unexpectedly, a number of laity were buried within the Chapter House of Melrose. They were: Christianna Corbet⁸, Walter Olifard⁹, Henry¹⁰ and Adam de Balliol¹¹, William de Valoniis¹², and G. Avenel¹³. It is particularly unusual

¹C.A.Chrs., no. 30, 31.

²Ibid., no. 40.

³CM, p. 91.

⁴Ibid., p. 107.

⁵Ibid., p. 71.

⁶See e.g. Ibid., p. 107.

⁷See e.g. Ibid., p. 82.

⁸Ibid., p. 89.

⁹Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 107.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p. 71.

¹³Ibid.

for a woman to be buried within a Chapter-House.

Not all contacts between the monks and their patrons were so amicable. There were frequent disputes, usually over property. Many were settled by the perambulation of boundaries¹, while others were resolved in court. A dispute arose between Melrose and Richard de Moreville in 1180 over forest and pasture land. It was settled that same year before the King at Haddington², judgement being in favour of the monks. In two other cases, the monks recovered land that had been taken from them by force. In the first instance, Sir Nicholas de Graham and his son ejected the monks from the lands granted to Melrose by earlier Grahams³. The case was settled the same year it arose, 1300. When Earl Patrick of Dunbar re-occupied a pasture he had previously granted to Melrose, the monks chose to have the case heard in a church court. The Earl's delaying tactics dragged the case on for a considerable time until the King stepped in.⁴

There were frequent visits to the Houses by laity, and the monks were called upon to provide hospitality. The kings in particular seem to have used the abbeys as convenient resting places on their journeys. These royal visits are rarely documented, and little detail is available, but it is clear that the Scottish and English kings were entertained by the Scottish Houses. Worth mentioning are two dramatic incidents involving Cistercian patrons. In 1185 an outlaw and his companions were captured at Coupar Angus by Malcolm, Earl of Atholl, whose family had been patrons of the Order.

¹ See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 43, 44, 103.

² RRS, ii, no. 236.

³ Chron. Lanercost, p. 17.

⁴ Lord Cooper, "Melrose Abbey 'versus' the Earl of Dunbar", Juridical Review, lv (1943), p. 7.

⁵ See e.g. CM, p. 114. CPR Edward I 1292-1301, p. 425, 532; 1301-1307, p. 217. Chron.Lanercost, p. 335.

During the capture, one of the outlaw's companions was beheaded before the High Altar¹. After the Battle of Roslyn in 1302, the Scots, led by John Comyn, a patron of the House, attacked those of the English who had availed themselves of Melrose's hospitality. A house belonging to the abbey was burned during the fight².

A major instance of the effect of the problems of the Scottish laity is the Interdict of 1217. The papal legate had laid the whole of Scotland under the Interdict for 'political reasons'³. The Cistercians however, continued to celebrate mass, "secundum privilegia a sede apostolica sibi indulta..."⁴. The legate's emissary commanded that the monks observe the Interdict. In response the Abbots of Melrose, Newbattle, Coupar, Kinloss and Culross went to York, and eventually obtained absolution. In the meantime, however, the Legate's emissary had excommunicated the Order in Scotland, and the monks were forced to appeal to the Pope. Eventually they did observe the Interdict, and received a final absolution from the Bishop of St. Andrews in 1218⁵.

It is therefore clear from available source material that the lay patronage of Cistercian abbeys in Scotland was part of the fabric of society both within and without the monastery walls. Patronage was granted by many levels of Scottish society from royalty to modest local gentry and burgesses. While the lead in founding abbeys was taken by royalty, the greater part of subsequent donation was by the upper and lower nobility. The often frequent and cordial contact between laity and monks did result in a lessening of the Houses' isolation from the outside world, but in the circumstances of medieval Scotland, this was largely unavoidable.

¹Chron. Holyrood, p. 193.

²Scalacronica, p. xvi.

³C.A.Chrs., i, p. xl.

⁴CM, p. 69.

⁵Ibid., p. 70.

Chapter Three

Acquisition of Lands and Properties

The Scottish Cistercians came to be considerable landowners¹. They controlled sizable estates in Scotland and also held land in Ireland and the north of England. In addition they had access to a variety of natural resources. This chapter is concerned with the location², means of acquisition, and the chronology of the acquisition of properties. The intent is to come to an understanding of the type and extent of the monks' holdings, and how they came to own them. This is a necessary preliminary to understanding the exploitation of those possessions.

Section One: Location of Properties and Dates of Acquisition

Melrose

The lands belonging to Melrose were extensive and widely distributed. Rather than examining them in chronological order, it is less confusing to discuss them in terms of the areas in which they lay. There were three geographical groupings: that part of eastern Scotland lying south of the Firth of Forth; Ayrshire and Carrick, and England. These last lay in Northumberland and Lincolnshire.

The majority of Melrose's properties were situated within thirty or so miles of the Abbey. There were two main concentrations: the immediate vicinity of the House, and the area to the south-east; and the district between North Berwick and Berwick-upon-Tweed. Most of Melrose's holdings there lay in clusters less than twenty miles from the Abbey. The monks controlled almost all of the surrounding territory, and the outline of these lands corresponds very closely to the bounds of the modern parish of Melrose³. Of the thirty-seven properties lying closest to the Abbey, twenty-two were owned, at least in part, by 1200, and a further nine by 1250.⁴

¹Nicholson, Scotland, p. 12.

²For the locations of properties mentioned in this thesis, see the Index of Placenames.

³Melr.Recs., i, p. xiii.

⁴These figures are based upon the information in the charters.

The pattern of acquisition of these lands was of rapid grants of lands located close to one another. The lands at Whitton are a clear example.

Table One: Acquisition of Lands at Whitton by Melrose Abbey

Date	Land	
1165x1214	land near Whitton	(1)
1165x1214	13½ acres of arable in Whitton	(2)
1165x1214	3 bovates arable beside 'Ravenesen'	(3)
1165x1214	4 bovates arable beside 'Ravenesen'	(4)
1165x1214	1 bovat in Whitton	(5)
1165x1214	'Elstanhalch' near Whitton	(6)
1175x1185	land in Whitton	(7)
1178x1199	parcels of land in Whitton	(8)
1189x1199	20 acres called 'Ravenesen' in Whitton	(9)

The Whitton holdings were extensive, and were a mixture of consolidated properties and scattered holdings. Just how close large areas of land could be to each other is illustrated by an 1165 x1174 grant by John of Orm¹⁰. His grant of land is described as lying between their lands of Whitton, Grubet, Clifton, and Mow.

Between North Berwick and Berwick-upon-Tweed there were nine areas in which the monks held land, including houses in both towns. With the single exception of an early fourteenth century grant of land in Berwick, these properties were all held by 1250¹¹.

The Ayrshire and Carrick lands lay at a considerable distance from Melrose, being two or three days journey through the Vale

¹ Melr.Lib., no. 154.

² Ibid., no. 160.

³ Ibid., no. 156.

⁴ Ibid., no. 158, 159.

⁵ Ibid., no. 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 167a.

⁶ Ibid., no. 119.

⁷ RRS, ii, no. 195.

⁸ Melr.Lib., no. 169.

⁹ Ibid., no. 152, 153.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 127, 128, 130.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 366.

of Douglas¹. All were under the monks' control by 1250. The charters reveal little detail concerning these properties, but they do appear to have been acquired in relatively few grants. The Mauchline lands for example are known to have been extensive². However, there are only three extant charters which mention these possessions, and none contain much detail.

Table Two: Acquisition of Land in Ayrshire and Carrick by Melrose

Date	Land	
1165x1174	confirmation of land, 1 plough-gate, fish, forest pasture, rent 5m. per annum.	(3)
1165x1214	Mauchline: pasture in the forests of Douglas, Lesmahagow and Glengavel, 1 carucate, asiamenta.	(4)
1249x1286	land and pasture of Mauchline, Carintable, and pertinences.	(5)

While these documents give little idea of the extent of Mauchline, they do reveal that the land there was most probably acquired in large sections.

The English possessions are poorly documented as the records of the original acquisitions have not survived. The extant relevant charters date only from the thirteenth century, and they reveal that the five properties were owned by 1250 and completed by 1300. The majority were located in Northumberland, and were eventually leased to Holm Cultram⁶. It is obvious from the sources that these properties were shared by Melrose and Holm Cultram for at least fifty years (1246-1296)⁷. There is, however, no way of knowing whether these arrangements

¹Nicholson, Scotland, p. 1-2.

²M. B. Sanderson, The Mauchline Account Books of Melrose Abbey 1527-1528, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1975.

³Melr.Lib., no. 68, 72, 74. Pais.Reg., no. 7. RRS, ii, no. 175.

⁴Melr.Lib., no. 66, 67.

⁵Ibid., no. 322, 323, 324.

⁶Holm Reg., no. 256, 256a, 257, 258.

⁷Ibid., no. 257, 258.

were part of the original grants. These properties were a considerable distance from Melrose. 'Trollope', for example, was two days journey from the Abbey¹.

Aside from these Northumberland possessions there were lands which lay scattered across southern Scotland. Most were acquired after 1250, and they appear to have been less extensive than elsewhere. The exception was the Nithdale holding².

Coupar Angus

Coupar's properties are rather more easily dealt with than those of Melrose. This is largely due to the work of D. E. Easson who has located the majority of them, and has dated the charters³. Coupar had fewer lands than Melrose. Most lay within ten miles of the Abbey, with only a small number further than twenty miles away. Of the twenty-five land groupings close to Coupar Angus, eighteen were in their possession, at least in part by 1250, most being extended after that date. These holdings were considerable, especially those at Airlie⁴, and in the rich lands of the Carse of Gowrie. The latter included Errol, Inchture, 'Moorhouse', and 'Carsegrange'.⁵

Table Three: Lands in the Carse of Gowrie Belonging to Coupar Angus

<u>Land</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Detail</u>	
Errol	1187x1195	confirmation of grange of Errol	(6)
	1248	acquisition of more lands in Carse of Gowrie	(7)
	1305x1308	grant of grazing and fishing of Stank of water of 'Ederpolles'	(8)

¹ Lord Cooper, ed., Select Scottish Cases of the Thirteenth Century, Edinburgh, 1944, p. 26.

² Melr.Lib., no. 200, 201, 202, 203, 281, 375, 484, 485, 511.

³ See above, p. 2, n. 1.

⁴ C.A.Chrs., no. 21.

⁵ RRS., ii, no. 307.

⁶ C.A.Chrs., no. 72.

⁷ Ibid., no. 37.

⁸ Ibid., no. 22.

Table Three continued

Land	Date	Detail
Inchture	1225	land for causeway from 'Carsegrange' to Inchture ½ toft and 1 acre. (1)
Carse	1241x1258	1 carucate in fee of Errol, 'Moorhouse' on south side of monks' grange in Carse, free access to moor of 'Admur' and pasture (2)
	1252	1 bovat in Carse, but as it is presently held for five years by someone else, another bovat is granted in the meantime. (3)

This table demonstrates the proximity of the lands, and that they were extensive.

Those lands belonging to Coupar which lay more than twenty miles from the abbey were scattered, rather than lying near each other. They date with one exception from before 1250, and appear from the charters to have been acquired in their entirety rather than in a series of grants.

Newbattle

There are problems in dating the Newbattle charters. They rarely contain dates, and the witness lists are very limited. Thus in many cases it is not possible to determine the dates of land acquisition. Further, as Newbattle was close to Edinburgh, the increased size of the modern city has obscured many of the placenames. The documents make it clear that, as at Coupar Angus and Melrose, the majority of the properties were located within twenty to twenty-five miles of the House. The charters show that most were acquired in whole or in part by the late thirteenth century. Twelve, at least, were held by 1200. Lands continued to be acquired well into the fourteenth century. Most properties were built up in a series of land parcels in close proximity. The holdings at Hailes in East Lothian show this quite clearly.

¹ C.A.Chrs., no. 37.

² Ibid., no. 22.

³ Ibid., no. 32.

Table Four: Newbattle Abbey's Possessions at Hailes, East Lothian

Date	Details	
Unknown	1 carucate in 'Suthale' called Suthrig, ½ carucate with pasture	(1)
Unknown	lands confirmed at 'Suthale', 'Bereford', 'Dunpeldre', 'Milnhalc', 'Milnhale' in North Hailes	(2)
1179x89	1 carucate of Hailes near 'Bereford' with pasture, 9 acres in North Hailes, increment to land in Hailes	(3)
Unknown	marsh and mill in 'Morham' in 'Bereford'	(4)
Unknown	millpond in 'Bereford'	(5)

One grant of 1338 reveals the scattered parcels of lands typical of these holdings⁶. It was a grant of sixteen bovates at 'New Craniston' which consisted of several properties; one of 6 bovates; one of 4 bovates; three of 2 bovates; eight acres and a toft.

The Other Houses

It is not possible to deal with the accumulation of land by the other eight Houses in the same detail because of the paucity of the sources. The identified lands belonging to these abbeys appear to have lain for the most part within twenty to twenty-five miles of the Houses. The exceptions were the English lands of Sweetheart and Dundrennan, and the latter's land in Ireland. The English lands were shared by the two Houses, and were in their possession by 1307⁷. The Irish land, at Brettonstoun in County Meath was owned by 1328⁸. Saddell, on Kintyre, was unusual in that its lands were scattered on the Islands, although even there they were fairly easy of access⁹.

¹ Newb. Reg., no. 77, 78, 79.

² Ibid., no. 92, 93, 97.

³ Ibid., no. 73, 76, 91.

⁴ Ibid., no. 87, 88, 89.

⁵ Ibid., no. 96.

⁶ Ibid., no. 207-209.

⁷ Holm Reg., no. 256a, 257, 258.

⁸ CDS, iii, p. 175, 209.

⁹ Brown, Saddell, (as above p. 22, n. 7.) p. 134.

Section Two: Means of Acquisition

There were four methods by which the Scottish Cistercians acquired land. These were; grant, rental of property by the monks, purchase, and trade.

The most common means of obtaining land was by grant. These were gifts of lands and resources in free alms, without feudal entanglements¹. Before 1350 most Cistercian lands were acquired in this fashion. The majority of grants were made by 1280, but there were a fair number of grants until the mid fourteenth century when they tapered away. Using the charters², it is possible to form a picture of the peak period of donations.

Table Five: Donations to the Cistercian Houses in Scotland *

House	Date	Number of Donations
Coupar	1164-1200	11
	1200-1250	12
	1250-1300	6
	1300-1350	12
	1350-1487	-
Melrose	1136-1150	2
	1150-1214	62
	1214-1250	38
	1250-1300	6
	1300-1350	10
	1350-1400	2
	1400-1487	2
Newbattle	1140-1165	9
	1165-1214	20
	1214-1300	12
	1300-1350	5
	1350-1400	-
	1400-1487	1

* This is limited to three Houses, due to the lack of information for the other Abbeys.

As mentioned earlier, it was common practice for lands to be extended or augmented. This was occasionally accomplished through the generosity of patrons. William de Moreville granted Melrose an addition to their property at Milsie in 1165x1214³. The Abbey's

¹ P.F. Gallagher "Conditions of Land Tenure and Their Religious Implications at Twelfth Century Mortemer", in J. R. Sommerfeldt Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II, Michigan 1976, p. 109.

² Figures are based on the Charters, see above, p. 5-7.

³ Melr.Lib., no. 99, 100.

charters reveal the same generosity at Whitton by Geoffrey, son of Waldeve¹. Coupar Angus was granted adjacent land at Rattray in 1180², and in the Carse of Gowrie in 1241x1258³. Newbattle was granted adjoining land at Hailes⁴.

Some of the charters include provision for a yearly payment of cash or kind by the monks in return for the grants. These are, in effect, rental agreements. Although there are fewer than eighty such agreements among the charters, this by no means guarantees that there were so few rented properties in reality.

A charter's profession that land is being given in free alms ... cannot be taken to mean that no conditions attached to the grant; grants in free alms frequently were matched by "gifts" from the abbey to the donor, gifts which were actually purchased or rents in disguise.⁵

Rents made their first appearance within thirty years of the foundation of Melrose (1136), Balmerino (1227), and Newbattle (1140). The following selection of rents is typical of the rents cited in the charters.

Table Six: Rental of Land by the Scottish Cistercian Houses

House	Date	Rent per annum	
Balmerino	1214x1249	2 lbs. pepper, 2 lbs. cumin	(6)
	1317	40s. Sterling	(7)
Coupar	1200	5m.	(8)
	1202	12 lb. wax changed to 2 lb. pepper and 2 lb. cumin	(9)

¹ Melr.Lib., no. 156, 158, 159.

² RRS, ii, no. 222.

³ C.A.Chrs., no. 22.

⁴ Newb.Reg., no. 76.

⁵ P. F. Gallagher, Land Tenure at Mortemer, (see above p. 53, n. 1) p. 112.

⁶ Balm.Lib., no. 23, 24.

⁷ Ibid., no. 34.

⁸ C.A.Chrs., no. 9, 28.

⁹ W. A. Lindsay and J. Dowden ed., Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray, SHS, 1908, no. 16.

Table Six continued

House	Date	Rent per Annum	
Coupar	1203x1210	1 lb. incense	(1)
	1212	2 bezants, 10 stone cheese, 12 Scottish sacks barley	(2)
	1304	1d. or 1 pair of gloves	(3)
	1319x1320	one 3 lb. candle and prayers at altar	(4)
Deer	1391	1m.	(5)
Melrose	1165x1174	5m.	(6)
	1165x1174	20s.	(7)
	1172x1179	1 lb. incense	(8)
Newbattle	1174x1199	£1	(9)
	c1214x1249	65m.20d.	(10)
	1344	1 waggon	(11)

As can be seen from the list, rents varied widely in amount and type of payment. Not all rents had a cash or 'kind' value, spiritual payment in the form of prayers was not unusual.

It was also common for rents to be 'relaxed', that is, cancelled. This had the effect of turning the rental into a grant¹².

There are only four known land purchases by the Houses.

Table Seven: Recorded Land Purchases by the Scottish Cistercians

House	Date	Purchase Price	
Coupar	1465	120m.	(13)
Melrose	1247	120m.	(14)
	1250	100m.	(15)
	1398x1424	£20 Scots	(16)

¹ Inchaff.Chrs., no. 16.

² C.A.Chrs., no. 21.

³ Ibid., no. 58.

⁴ Ibid., no. 78.

⁵ Abdn.Reg., no. 7.

⁶ Melr.Lib., no. 39, 40, 41, 42.

⁷ Ibid., no. 127, 128, 130.

⁸ Abdn.Reg., no.2.

⁹ Newb.Reg., no. 12, 13, 15.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 160, 161.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 220.

¹² See e.g. Melr. Lib., no. 276.

¹³ C.A.Chrs., no. 119.

¹⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 230, 231.

¹⁵ Ibid., no. 312, 313.

¹⁶ Ibid., no. 537, 538.

These are all substantial purchases. As with the rental agreements, it is probable that only a small number of the actual total appear in the records.

The exchange of land was a useful means of consolidating holdings, and of disposing of less desirable property. The known exchanges were all for more useful lands, usually closer to other possessions. It is worth noting that one so-called 'exchange' included a payment of 200 marks¹.

Table Eight: Property Exchanges by the Scottish Cistercians

<u>House</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Details</u>	
Coupar	1234	exchange for common of moor.	(2)
Melrose	1165x1214	land and pasture for land, & 200m.	(3)
	1171x1180	exchange of pasture in settlement of dispute.	(4)
	early 13th.	land exchanged for one oxgang	(5)
	1232/3	waste land exchanged	(6)
Newbattle	c.1141	exchange of land	(7)
	1179x1189	land exchanged for land and pasture	(8)

Section Three: Types of Lands and Resources

The monks' holdings included a variety of agricultural lands and town properties. They also had access to substantial and varied natural resources. These assets were protected, and their exploitation eased by the Cistercians' legal rights, privileges and exemptions.

¹ See below, n. 3.

² Scone Liber, no. 67.

³ Melr.Lib., no. 142.

⁴ Ibid., no. 111.

⁵ GRH, GD 55, no. 626.

⁶ Holy.Lib., no. 9.

⁷ ESC, p. 381.

⁸ RRS, ii, no. 243.

Arable

The monks were well provided with arable lands of varying types. Although the subject of granges will be dealt with in the next chapter, it should be mentioned here that while some granges appear to have been wholly arable¹, in most areas pasture and arable were found together. Arable holdings were often clustered in the same area, sometimes lying adjacent to each other, and sometimes being located near to one another. Arable lands varied greatly in size, from measured carucates to toft and croft. These patterns are clearly demonstrated at Melrose's lands at Lessudden, now St. Boswell's.

Table Nine: Melrose Abbey's Lands at St. Boswell's

Date	Details	
1165x1214	½ carucate	(2)
1214x1249	toft, croft, acre and 1 rod, 2 acres	(3)
1214x1249	10 acres rent ld. or 1 pair gloves	(4)
1221	holdings cited as a grange	(5)
early 13th	trade for land in area, rent 2s.6d.	(6)
1306x1329	arable granted	(7)
1306x1329	½ carucate	(8)
1316	grant of land and tenement	(9)
1353	manor and pertinences	(10)
1353/6	land and tenement	(11)
1356	land called Woodfordhouse	(12)
1402	land called Cambeston	(13)

¹ See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 97, 119, 127, 128, 130, 152-155, 157-161, 163, 167, 170. RRS, ii, no. 265. Newb.Reg., no. 109-112, 114.

² Melr.Lib., no. 88, 89.

³ Ibid., no. 261.

⁴ Ibid., no. 263.

⁵ Dryb.Lib., no. 232, 235, 237.

⁶ GRH, GD, no. 626.

⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 421.

⁸ Ibid., no. 415.

⁹ Ibid., no. 416-420.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 470.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 471, 472.

¹² Ibid., no. 357, 469.

¹³ Ibid., no. 539.

It is clear from the number of 'named' arable lands acquired by the monks¹, and lands for which they paid tithes², that much of their land was already cultivated when it came into their hands. There is also evidence that the monks did convert waste and pasture to arable use. This is provided by those charters which restricted the monks' rights to plough previously uncultivated lands³.

Pasture

There is rather less detailed information preserved in the sources concerning pasture. The monks received two types of pasture; outright possession, and right of use⁴. It is the latter which is most often described in detail with respect to the number and type of animal which could be pastured. There was a wide divergence in pasture sizes, from the 1500 wethers Melrose could pasture on Lammermuir⁶, to the pasture at Preston for six cows, eight oxen and one horse⁷. A small but useful item was the frequent provision for the pasturing of small numbers of horses, those presumably, used for transportation⁸.

The pasture land available to the monks varied greatly from meadow to moorland, and marsh to forest grazing. There is very little detail available about seasonal grazing. There are records of provision of extra pasture for plough beasts in the spring⁷. Melrose seems to have used the local methods of summer shielings⁸.

¹ See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 101, 102, 103, 104, 105. RRS, II, no. 482.

² See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 308.

³ See e.g. Ibid., no. 93a, 94.

⁴ See e.g. Ibid., no. 80, 113.

⁵ See e.g. Ibid., no. 3.

⁶ Ibid., no. 56.

⁷ Ibid., no. 65.

⁸ Ibid., no. 82, 84, 85, 90, 91, 93, 282, 304. GRH, Yester Writs, no. 22.

⁹ Melr.Lib., no. 252.

¹⁰ Barrow, Kingdom, p. 262.

The charters do not give a detailed picture of the amount of each abbey's pasture, as the extent is only rarely stated. Pasture is most commonly described by its location, or by boundary descriptions which rest on local features¹. These have been erased by time and modern farming methods. Pasture sizes are given in such measures as acres, a unit of value, rather than extent, or in carucates which varied in size by region². It is clear, however, that the Houses enjoyed extensive pastures.

Natural Resources

The resources available to the Cistercians were considerable; building materials, fuel, salt, fish, and water were all in plentiful supply.

Stone and wood were required in substantial quantities in the construction of abbey claustral buildings and the more permanent grange structures.

Table Ten: Grants of Stone and Wood to the Scottish Cistercians

<u>House</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Details</u>	
Balmerino	1214x1249	quarry with free access and common for 24 oxen	(3)
Melrose	1136x1148	building wood	(4)
	1136x1199	stone for building the abbey	(5)
	1174x1214	building wood	(6)
	1187x1199	stone for building	(7)
	1214x1249	wood for building	(8)
	1300x1307	grant of 40 oaks for building	(9)

¹ See e.g. Newb.Reg., no. 99. C.A.Chrs., no. 72.

² Barrow, Kingdom, p. 264-271.

³ Balm.Lib., no. 46, 47.

⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 2.

⁵ Ibid., no. 90.

⁶ Ibid., no. 96.

⁷ Ibid., no. 90, 91, 93.

⁸ Ibid., no. 305.

⁹ CDS, ii, p. 526.

Table Ten continued

House	Date	Details	
Newbattle	1140x1153	wood for building	(1)
	1165x1214	building wood	(2)
	1316	stone, access, overnight pasture for carriage animals	(3)

Brush wood was extensively used in the construction of fencing for animal enclosures. The monks seem to have been well supplied with this material⁴.

Fuel

Fuel included peat, wood, and coal. Coal is known to have been dug by both Coupar⁵, and Newbattle⁶. At Newbattle the coal seam lay very close to the surface, and very near to the Abbey⁷. Peat was a useful fuel, and essential in the production of salt. Wood and charcoal too were needed. The Cistercians had access to a number of forests for wood, but more detail is available concerning peat supplies than other fuels.

Table Eleven: Grants of Peat to the Scottish Cistercians

House	Date	Details	
Coupar	1199	peatmoss	(8)
	1242	peatmoss for making salt	(9)
Melrose	1165x1214	peatmoss	(10)
	1165x1214	¼ peatmoss	(11)
	1175x1214	peat and salt	(12)
	1194x1200	peat and salt	(13)
	1208	20 charetas of peat per year	(14)
	1256	5 charetas of peat per year	(15)

¹ Melr.Lib., no. 17, 18.

² Newb.Reg., Carte Orig. no. 21.

³ Ibid., no. 156.

⁴ See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 134, 135, 136.

⁵ C.A.Chrs., i, p. xxvii.

⁶ Newb.Reg., p. xxv-xxviii.

⁷ Ibid., p. xxxiii.

⁸ RRS, ii, no. 414.

⁹ C.A.Chrs., no. 23.

¹⁰ Melr.Lib., no. 134, 135, 136.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 87, 241.

¹² Ibid., no. 34, 35, 36.

¹³ Holm Reg., no. 95c.

¹⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 101.

¹⁵ Ibid., no. 333.

Table Eleven continued

House	Date	Details	
Newbattle	unknown	peat and access	(1)
	1174x1199	peat, rent £1 p.a.	(2)
	1179x1189	20 carucates of peat	(3)
	1214or'83	peat with land	(4)
	1224	peat	(5)
	1338	peat	(6)

A grant to Newbattle in 1174x1199 is of particular interest, as it contains details of the requirements of peat production. As well as the peatmoss, the monks were granted drying facilities, a hut for storage, pasture for haulage beasts, and free access⁷.

Salt

Salt was essential in food preservation. The long Scottish winters made this need particularly acute⁸.

Table Twelve: Grants of Salt to the Scottish Cistercians

House	Date	Details	
Coupar	c1242	saltwork with peat	(9)
Melrose	1153x1165	1 salt pan	(10)
	1165x1214	1 salt pan	(11)
	1175x1214	2 salt pans	(12)
	1175x1214	salt work with peat	(13)
	1194x1200	salt work with peat, rent 1m. p.a.	(14)
	1215x1251	salt	(15)
	1306x1329	salt pan	(16)
Newbattle	1165x1214	salt pan and land	(17)

¹ Newb.Reg., no. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 223, 224.

² Ibid., no. 12.

³ Ibid., no. 61.

⁴ Ibid., no. 116, 117.

⁵ Ibid., no. 122, 223, 224.

⁶ Ibid., no. 40.

⁷ Ibid., no. 61.

⁸ Bedford Franklin, Scottish Farming, p. 34.

⁹ C.A.Chrs., no. 23.

¹⁰ Melr.Lib., no. 7, 8.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 65.

¹² Ibid., no. 37.

¹³ Ibid., no. 34.

¹⁴ Holm Reg., no. 95c.

¹⁵ Ibid., no. 95g.

¹⁶ Melr.Lib., no. 365.

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Fish

Fish was an important staple in the diet of the monks, and the abbeys were generously supplied with access to freshwater fish.

Table Thirteen: Grants of Fisheries and Nets to the Scottish Cistercians

House	Date	Details	
Coupar	1198x1201	fishery and net	(1)
	1220	fishery	(2)
	1300	fishery	(3)
	1300x1302	fishery	(4)
	1305x1308	fishery	(5)
	1326	net	(6)
Melrose	1136x1153	fishing in Tweed in own lands	(7)
	1153x1165	fishery and net	(8)
	1165x1174	fishery	(9)
	1174x1214	fishery and net	(10)
	1175x1214	fishery	(11)
	1194x1213	fishery, reserving sturgeon	(12)
	1214x1249	fisheries	(13)
	1214x1249	fishery, house, and access	(14)
	1215x1251	fishery	(15)
Newbattle	1249x1286	10 salmon per year	(16)
	1306x1329	fisheries	(17)
	pre 1273	fishery	(18)
	unknown	fishery	(19)
	1165x1214	fishery	(20)
	unknown	fishery	(21)

¹ C.A.Chrs., no. 13.

² Ibid., no. 31.

³ Ibid., no. 42, 43.

⁴ Ibid., no. 42.

⁵ Ibid., no. 72.

⁶ Ibid., no. 108.

⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 37.

⁸ Ibid., no. 11, 178, 179.

⁹ RRS, ii, no. 78.

¹⁰ Melr.Lib., no. 72, 74.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 34, 35, 36.

¹² Holm Reg., no. 95d.

¹³ Melr.Lib., no. 255.

¹⁴ Ibid., no. 242, 243.

¹⁵ Holm Reg., no. 95d.

¹⁶ Melr.Lib., no. 334.

¹⁷ Ibid., no. 336.

¹⁸ Newb.Reg., no. 223, 224.

¹⁹ Ibid., no. 179.

²⁰ Ibid., no. 156, 168.

²¹ Dunf.Reg., no. 336.

Water

Clean water was needed for many purposes from domestic to agricultural. Although Cistercian monasteries were built close to running water, it was not always sufficient for all purposes.

Table Fourteen: Scottish Cistercians and Grants of Water

House	Date	Details	
Balmerino	1331	water for their mill	(1)
Coupar	1292x1296	grant of spring, with all its water, and a conduit from it through the donor's land to the monastery	(2)
	1305	mention of a water course	(3)
Kinloss	1310x1312	permission to dig a channel to lead water to Kinloss	(4)
Melrose	1256	mill pond	(5)

Town Properties

As large institutions, the Cistercian Houses had 'marketing' interests to pursue, occasional involvements in the lawcourts, and the abbots were regularly called upon by the crown. All of these activities resulted in the ownership of properties in major towns, ports and neighbouring towns⁶.

Table Fifteen: Scottish Cistercian Town Properties

Town	Date	House	Details	
Aberdeen	pre 1370	Kinloss	land in Gallowgate	(7)
Arbroath	1166x1170	Coupar	land	(8)
Berwick	1179x1182	Coupar	toft	(9)
	1165x1174	Melrose	house and land	(10)
	1165x1174	Melrose	house and land in Briggate	(11)
	1250	Melrose	2 tenements purchase 200m.	(12)
	1276	Newbattle	land in Southgate rent 10s8d	(13)

¹ Balm.Lib., no. 52.

² C.A.Chrs., no. 38.

³ Ibid., no. 60.

⁴ Kinloss Recs., p. 129-33.

⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 333.

⁶ W. Stevenson, "The Monastic Presence in Scottish Burghs", SHR, lx (1981), p.97ff.

⁷ Kinloss Recs., no. 11.

⁸ C.A.Chrs., no.1.

⁹ RRS., ii, no. 543.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 188.

¹¹ Melr.Lib., no. 23, 24.

¹² Ibid., no. 312.

¹³ Newb.Reg., no. 187.

Table Fifteen continued

Town	Date	House	Details
Boston	c1246	Melrose	house shared with Holm Cultram (1)
Craill	pre 1234	Balmerino	burgage, rent relaxed (2)
Dundee	1286	Balmerino	house and garden beside Coupar's (3)
	unknown	Balmerino	land in burgh, rent 11s Ster. (4)
	1481	Coupar	tenement, house, and garden (5)
Edinburgh	1408	Melrose	tenement, rent 20s (6)
	1428	Melrose	land near Cowgate, rent 20s (7)
	1433	Melrose	land beside theirs, rent 6s 8d (8)
	1331	Newbattle	land in Newbigging, rent 3s Ster. (9)
	pre 1462	Newbattle	tenement near Netherwynde (10)
	pre 1467	Newbattle	land and tenement (11)
Glasgow	unknown	Newbattle	land and house rent 10d (12)
	1294	Newbattle	land and building (13)
Leith	1309x1406	Melrose	tenement (14)
	1414	Melrose	land 14' wide near theirs rent 4d. (15)
	unknown	Newbattle	land 30' wide (16)
Peebles	1306x1326	Melrose	Burgage rent 4m. (17)
Perth	pre 1362	Balmerino	house and pertinences (18)
	1214x1249	Balmerino	land in burgh beside theirs rent 2½m (19)
	1306x1326	Melrose	land in burgh rent 4m (20)

¹ Holm Reg., no. 128.² Balm.Lib., no. 35.³ Ibid., no. 31, 44.⁴ Ibid., no. 55.⁵ Ibid., no. 31.⁶ Melr.Lib., no. 513, 514.⁷ Ibid., no. 515.⁸ Ibid., no. 516.⁹ Newb.Reg., no. 197, 281.¹⁰ Ibid., no. 289, 290.¹¹ Ibid., no. 299, 300.¹² Ibid., no. 176.¹³ Ibid., no. 177.¹⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 500, 501.¹⁵ Ibid., no. 522, 523.¹⁶ Newb.Reg., no. 46.¹⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 412.¹⁸ Balm.Lib., no. 58.¹⁹ Ibid., no. 58.²⁰ Melr.Lib., no. 411, 412.

Table Fifteen continued

Town	Date	House	Details
St.Andrews	pre 1362	Balmerino	land and pertinences (1)
St.Botolf	1219x1240	Melrose	house with Holm Cultram (2)

The properties owned by the Houses were often rented, and in at least one instance, purchased. The monks actively sought these urban lands. The shared arrangements between Melrose and Holm Cultram reveal the close co-operation which existed between these Houses. Table Fifteen shows that town lands were acquired throughout the period.

Rights

In addition to the usual rights of land-owners, the monks enjoyed other rights and privileges which aided them in the exploitation of their properties. Rights of assart and clearance meant that waste land could be made more useful at the Cistercians' discretion³. Rights of free passage and free access to their lands often accompanied by rights of over-night pasture were very useful⁴. Melrose was granted the right of free passage through the Vale of Douglas, this was the route taken from the Abbey to the Mauchline lands. The monks encountered difficulties created by a local landowner, and were forced to appeal to the crown for enforcement of their rights⁵.

Grants of freedom from tolls and exactions were of considerable value⁶. These gave the monks a 'competitive edge' in trade, as their competitors were less fortunate. A major concession was made by Philip, Count of Flanders, who granted the Scottish Cistercians freedom from tolls and exactions throughout his country⁷. Equally valuable were the grants of customs on their wool made by the Scottish crown on a number of occasions⁸.

¹ Balm.Lib., no. 58.

² Holm Reg., no. 256, 256a, 257, 258.

³ See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 340.

⁴ See e.g. Ibid., no. 83, 309.

⁵ Cooper, Select Cases, p. 100.

⁶ See e.g. Alex III Handlist, no. 370. RRS, ii, no. 509.

⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 14.

⁸ See below p. 82, 83.

Conclusions

Although the extant information is largely limited to Coupar Angus, Melrose and Newbattle, what there is does make it possible to draw a number of conclusions about land acquisition by the Cistercians in Scotland.

For the most part, lands lay within easy reach of the abbeys. With the exception of the properties in England and Ireland, and Melrose's possession in Ayrshire and Carrick, Cistercian holdings lay within twenty to thirty miles of the Houses. This conformed to the regulation that lands be within one day's journey¹. On a practical level, it was natural that extensive holdings should be accumulated in the vicinity of a monastery.

The lands themselves lay in clusters. Within these clusters, the accumulation of land had a definite pattern. A portion of land was obtained, usually by grants, but also by rent. Around this, adjacent and nearby land was gathered by grant, rent, exchange and purchase². These deliberate acquisitions reveal quite clearly the monks' policies of land expansion and consolidation³.

These policies meant that while the ideal was for the acquisition of unburdened lands, in practice, the Cistercians' lands were frequently previously cultivated, and carried feudal burdens⁴. The monks were forced to accept such property in order to obtain the lands they desired.

As Gallagher says;

there is nothing about this matter which necessitated assigning it to the realm of 'corruption'. It is more a matter of the fabric of life in a feudal society, a matter of the unavoidable interdependence of many aspects of a society that was so largely grounded in the land. (5)

¹ Statuta (1134) 5.

² Donkin, The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales, Toronto, 1978, p. 59.

³ C.A.Chrs., p. xxv.

⁴ Gallagher, Mortemer, p. 109.

⁵ Ibid., p. 119.

It was a requirement that lands belonging to different Houses be two leagues apart¹, but properties could be situated very near to those of another abbey. The arrangements between Holm Cultram and Dundrennan reveal that their lands at Kirkgunzeon in Nithdale were adjacent². Great care was taken to avoid disputes. These were less easily avoided when lands abutted on those of other Orders. The records contain many accounts of the settling of boundary disputes with non-Cistercian abbeys³.

In at least two instances, town lands were shared. This was the case at Boston, between Melrose and Holm Cultram⁴, and between Dundrennan and Sweetheart at Egremont⁵. As mentioned previously, Cistercian town lands were fairly often located near each other⁶.

There is a clear chronology to the acquisition of land. Properties were acquired throughout the Order's history in Scotland. However, it is important to understand that the properties which were the initial acquisitions, around which the rest were accumulated, were almost all in the monks' hands by 1250-1300. This was true outside Scotland. Donkin found that most Cistercian Houses were in "fairly constant receipt of grants of all types of lands until 1250" in England and Wales⁷. The exception was, of course, Sweetheart Abbey which was not founded until 1273.

Rents made an early appearance despite the Order's disapproval, and became more and more common after 1250. This was common in Britain as a whole, as Lekai found that in England, between the years 1150 and 1200, nearly half of all donations involved monetary

¹ Statuta (1134) 32.

² Holm Reg., no. 133.

³ See e.g. C.A.Chrs., no. 24.

⁴ Holm Reg., no. 128.

⁵ CDS., ii, p. 464.

⁶ See Table Fifteen.

⁷ Donkin, Geography, p. 59.

transactions¹. The charters suggest that the proportion was rather lower in Scotland. Purchases and exchanges also appeared fairly early on, and were very much less common than rentals.

The result of the Cistercians' land acquisition was that the Houses were richly endowed with all types of agricultural lands, and natural resources. They were, in Easson's phrase "designed to become self-sufficing units"². Their wealth and self-sufficiency were the result of their exploitation of the lands with which the generosity of their patrons and their own efforts had provided them.

¹ Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 291.

² C.A.Chrs., p. xxxiii.

Chapter Four

Land Exploitation

Although the Scottish Cistercians were 'land rich', their economic security depended upon the successful exploitation of their possessions. This chapter is concerned with the monks' management of their lands, their agricultural activities, and their involvement in trade. The aim is to achieve as clear an understanding of their economy as the limitations of the sources allow.

The Cistercians forbade the ownership of manors because of their feudal entanglements¹. Instead, the basis of their agricultural organization was the grange. This was a monastic farm under the supervision of a granger or Grangarius, who was answerable to the cellarer².

Identification of the Scottish granges is made difficult as the charters rarely refer to properties except by name. Therefore, while it is probable that most properties were organized as granges, it is only possible to be certain of a small number, those described in the sources as granges.

Table One: Cistercian Lands Described as Granges

House	Grange	First Mention as Grange	First Mentioned as Held	
Coupar	Aberbothry	c.1443	1166x1170	(3)
	Airlie	1487	1201	(4)
	Balbrogie	c1201	c1201	(5)
	Carse	1225	1225	(6)
	Coupar	c1201	c1201	(7)
	Drimmie	c1201	1198x1201	(8)
	Errol	1187x1195	1187x1195	(9)
	Keithick	1220	1171x1178	(10)

¹ Statuta (1134) 9.

² Platt, Monastic Grange, p. 82.

³ C.A.Chrs., no. 1, 24. C.A.Rent., i, p. 120.

⁴ C.A.Chrs., no. 24, 27. C.A.Rent., ii, p. 201.

⁵ C.A.Chrs., no. 13. C.A.Rent., i, p. 143.

⁶ C.A.Chrs., no. 22, 37.

⁷ Ibid., no. 13.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ RRS, ii, no. 322.

¹⁰ C.A.Chrs., no. 30. RRS, ii, no. 148.

Table One continued

House	Grange	First Mention as Grange	First Mention as Held
Coupar	Kincreich	1450	1201 (1)
	Tullyfergus	c1201	1201 (2)
Dundrennan	Kirkgunzeon	1165x1174	1165x1174 (3)
Melrose	'Caddesley'	1221	1221 (4)
	Edmonston	1153x1165	1153x1165 (5)
	'Hartside'	1326	1136x1153 (6)
	'Hunedun'	1166x1170	1166x1170 (7)
	St. Boswell's	1165x1171	1165x1171 (8)
	Maybole	1231	1175x1193 (9)
	Trowup	1346	1214x1249 (10)
Newbattle	'Bereford'	1174	1165x1214 (11)
	Crawford	1230/1	1230/1 (12)
	Dunpeldar	1230/1	1230/1 (13)
	'Esth'	1230/1	1230/1 (14)
	Moorfoot	1174	1140x1153 (15)
	Newbyres	1230/1	1230/1 (16)
	Peffer	1174	1140/1153 (17)
	'Porhoy'	1230/1	1230/1 (18)
	Preston	1179x1189	1179x1189 (19)
	Rommano	1230/1	1179x1189 (20)

¹ C.A.Chrs., no. 10, 11.² Ibid., no. 13.³ Holm Reg., no. 133.⁴ Dryb.Lib., no. 243, 235, 237. Melr.Lib., no. 113.⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 4, 483.⁶ Ibid., no. 6, 443.⁷ RRS, ii, no. 72.⁸ Ibid., no. 86. Melr.Lib., no. 88.⁹ Melr.Lib., no. 29, 351.¹⁰ Ibid., no. 305.¹¹ Newb.Reg., no. 156, 224.¹² Ibid., no. 135, 136, 137, 223.¹³ Ibid., no. 155, 223.¹⁴ Ibid., no. 223.¹⁵ Ibid., no. 18, 28.¹⁶ Ibid., no. 223.¹⁷ Ibid., no. 156. Carte Orig. no. 28.¹⁸ Ibid., no. 223. St A. Lib., no. 323.¹⁹ Reg.Newb., no. 61-65.²⁰ Ibid., no. 131-2, 223.

The sources reveal that granges were often a combination of types of land¹. Rather than examining all the known granges, it should suffice to look at the composition of two representative examples.

Table Two: Melrose Abbey's Grange of 'Hartside'

Date	Description of Land Held There
1136x1153	arable with common pasture
1153x1165	land (probably arable) and salt pan
1165x1214	pasture on common with ditch to make sheepfold, common of marsh
1165x1214	arable (2)

From this it is obvious that Hartside's agricultural activities included sheep raising, arable cultivation, and salt production.

Table Three: Coupar Angus' Grange of 'Kincrieck'

Date	Description of Land Held There
1201	1 davach arable
1201x1205	arable and use of grain mill once a week
1257	tenement rented by monks
1260x1265	arable, fulling mill
1298x1304	easements in moor (3)

Again, this was a grange which contained a variety of diverse properties, including land rented by the monks to augment the grange, and the use of a mill granted through the generosity of a layman.

In Scotland this mixture of activities was not unusual, rather it was the norm on secular as well as ecclesiastical estates⁴. Grants of arable were usually accompanied by rights in common pasture.

As mentioned earlier, each grange was under the control of a granger. There is evidence that on at least one Scottish grange the Granger was a conversus⁵. Beyond this single reference, there is no further information as to the manning of the granges.

¹ See previous chapter.

² RRS, ii, no. 386, Melr.Lib., no, t, 8, 56, 218, 219.

³ C.A.Chrs., no. 11, 10, 34, 35, 40.

⁴ Nicholson, Scotland, p. 4.

⁵ CM, p. 61.

Archaeological evidence is not available for many of the Scottish granges, but it is reasonable to assume that permanent structures were required for crop and seed storage, and animal shelters. The granges lying within easy reach of the abbey would surely require little in the way of permanent living quarters for monks and conversi¹. The more distant granges were, of course, a different matter, and must have had more extensive dwellings². At Coupar's grange of Keithick, a document of 1463 mentions; stable, barn, kitchen, seedhouse, bakehouse, and brew-house³. This must have been a major agricultural complex. Melrose's buildings at Mauchline were extensive and included a house suitable for the Abbot's occasional visits⁴. The Abbot of Coupar also had residences on two of his granges⁵.

Arable

The Cistercians were skilled in the conversion of land into arable⁶. There is little direct evidence of the Scottish monks' efforts in this direction. Charters which specifically forbade the cultivation of previously uncultivated lands do suggest that the monks were active in the conversion of lands.

The crops grown by the monks are virtually undocumented. It is known that Newbattle cultivated corn at their farm of Bothkennar⁸. That aside, crops are not mentioned in the sources. The common crops in Scotland at the time were barley, oats and corn⁹.

After the harvest, animals were pastured in the stubble, thus manuring the land for the next growing season¹⁰.

¹ Platt, Monastic Grange, p. 46-47. Statuta (1157) 3.

² Platt, Monastic Grange, p. 72.

³ C.A.Rent., i, p. 139.

⁴ Sanderson, Mauchline, p. 3.

⁵ C.A.Rent., i, p. xlv.

⁶ Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 298.

⁷ See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 56, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105.

⁸ CDS, ii, p. 127, 145.

⁹ Nicholson, Scotland, p. 4.

¹⁰ See e.g. C.A.Rent., i, p. 65.

The abbeys were not always able to produce sufficient grain for their own needs. In 1220, 1226, 1227 and 1252, Glenluce was granted leave to go to Ireland to buy 'corn, meal, and other victuals'. The 1252 grant was for one shipload of corn per year for seven years¹.

Mills

Mills as a source of income were forbidden by the Order². They were a necessity however, in the production of flour. The Scottish Houses came to own, or have access to a number of mills, both grain and fulling. It is not always possible to judge from the sources which was which.

Table Four: Scottish Cistercian Mills

House	Date	Details
Balmerino	1331	mill (3)
Coupar	1201x1205	use of grain mill on Tuesdays (4)
	1250x1256	mill (5)
	1299x1300	mill rented by monks for 11 years (6)
	1326	license to build, repair and possess a stank and lade for mill (7)
	-	tithes to be paid on mill (8)
Culross	pre 1525	mill (9)
Kinloss	1153x1165	mill site and clearing (10)
Melrose	1156x1214	mill (11)
	1256	mill pond (12)

¹ Patent Rolls Henry III 1216-1225, p. 10; 1225-1232, p. 11, 36; 1247-1258, p. 152.

² Statuta (1134) 9.

³ Balm.Lib., no. 52.

⁴ C.A.Chrs., no. 10.

⁵ Ibid., no. 30.

⁶ Ibid., no. 41.

⁷ Ibid., no. 230, 231.

⁸ Dunf.Reg., no. 220.

⁹ Laing Chrs., p. 88.

¹⁰ RRS, i, no. 6, 266.

¹¹ Melr.Lib., no. 333.

¹² Ibid.

Table Four continued

House	Date	Details	
Melrose	1316	mills	(1)
	c1327	use of grain mill	(2)
Newbattle	-	water for mill	(3)
	-	mill pond	(4)
	-	mill	(5)
	c1273	mill and pond	(6)
	1338	mill	(7)
<u>Animal Husbandry</u>			

The monks are known to have raised cattle, horses, pigs and sheep. Other livestock are not recorded.

After sheep⁸, cattle were the most numerous of the abbeys' animals. There were two types of cattle: oxen for draught and plough work; and cows and bulls for breeding, dairy products, skins, and to a lesser extent meat⁹. The manure of these beasts was valuable as fertiliser.

Oxen are mentioned in the charters with reference to their pastures.

Table Five: Numbers of Oxen Mentioned in the Sources

House	Date	Details	
Balmerino	1214x1289	24 oxen beside quarry	(10)
	1286	4 oxen	(11)

¹ Melr.Lib., no. 416-417.

² Ibid., no. 392. GRH Yester Writs, no. 22.

³ Newb.Reg., no. 276.

⁴ Ibid., no. 158.

⁵ Ibid., no. 90, 96.

⁶ Ibid., no. 216, 217, 219, 224, 100.

⁷ Ibid., no. 41.

⁸ See below, p. 79.

⁹ R.A. Donkin, "Cattle on the Estates of Medieval Cistercian Monasteries in England and Wales", *EHR*, xv(1962), p. 83.

¹⁰ Balm.Lib., no. 46, 47, 48.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 49.

Table Five continued

House	Date	Numbers	
Melrose	1165x1214	8 oxen	(1)
	1187x1199	16 oxen	(2)
	1187x1199	12 oxen	(3)
	1194x1199	6 oxen	(4)
	1214x1249	12 oxen	(5)
	1214x1249	30 oxen - 40 in spring	(6)
	1234	8 oxen	(7)
	1306x1329	6 oxen	(8)
	c 1327	6 oxen	(9)
Newbattle	1179x1189	oxen for grange	(10)

These groupings of animals indicate that oxen were scattered near the lands in which they were employed. The repetition of multiples of eight and six oxen is highly suggestive of two different sizes of plough teams. Both of these sizes of teams were used in Scotland, although eight-ox teams were the more usual¹¹. The grant of pasture for forty oxen in spring at Maxton¹² indicates a central location for animals in an area in which the monks had considerable arable.

Cows occur in rather greater numbers and with greater frequency in the sources than oxen. The total number of animals which the abbeys could pasture should they wish were very considerable indeed. As Table Six below demonstrates, between 1155 and 1249 Melrose was granted enough pasture land to support 532 cows. It is highly unlikely that they had anything like so many animals.

¹ C.A.Chrs., no. 30.

² Ibid., no. 123.

³ Ibid., no. 90.

⁴ RRS, ii, no. 425.

⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 282, 283, 285.

⁶ Ibid., no. 252.

⁷ Ibid., no. 265.

⁸ Ibid., no. 393.

⁹ GRH, Yester Writs, no. 22.

¹⁰ RRS, ii, no. 241.

¹¹ Duncan, Scotland, p. 310-11.

¹² Melr.Lib., no. 252.

Table Six: Numbers of Cows Mentioned in the Scottish Sources

House	Date	Numbers	
Balmerino	-	4 cows	(1)
	1286	4 cows	(2)
	1323	2 cows	(3)
Melrose	1155x1165	100 cows and a vaccary	(4)
	1165x1214	40 cows and 1 bull	(5)
	1165x1214	6 cows	(6)
	1174x1199	100 cows and a vaccary	(7)
	1174x1199	100 cows and a vaccary	(8)
	1175x1214	10 cows and 6 bulls	(9)
	1187x1199	4 cows	(10)
	1187x1199	6 cows	(11)
	1194x1213	4 cows	(12)
	1208	140 cattle: cows and bulls	(13)
	1214x1249	10 cows	(14)
	1214x1249	12 cows	(15)
	1237	7 cows	(16)
Newbattle	1306x1329	4 cows and their young	(17)
	c1327	2 cows and their young	(18)
	1223x1236	12 cows in spring	(19)

In addition to the above, there are references to cattle in other areas, but the type and numbers are not specified.

¹ Balm.Lib., no. 49.

² Ibid., no. 17, 18.

³ Ibid., no. 50.

⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 3. RRS, ii, no. 175.

⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 82, 83, 84.

⁶ Ibid., no. 65.

⁷ Ibid., no. 107.

⁸ Ibid., no. 106.

⁹ Ibid., no. 34.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 123, 270.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 90.

¹² RRS, ii, no. 425. Holm Reg., no. 95a, 95c.

¹³ Melr.Lib., no. 101-5.

¹⁴ Ibid., no. 282, 283, 285.

¹⁵ Ibid., no. 252.

¹⁶ Ibid., no. 265.

¹⁷ Ibid., no. 393.

¹⁸ GRH, Yester Writs, no. 22.

¹⁹ Newb.Reg., no. 36.

Cattle require constant supervision, and mentions are made in the charters of shelters for beasts and the cattle herds. At Whitelee, herders were permitted temporary huts 'claias wiscatas'¹. Duncan states that these were probably 'dug-out' or 'lean-to' constructions rather than buildings. At Goverton, the man who fed the animals was permitted to dwell there². In contrast, no dwellings were allowed at Sorrowlessfield³.

Folds and byres could be composed of either permanent or temporary structures. The grants to Melrose of 1174x1199⁴ and 1155x1165⁵ gave the monks the right to permanent vaccary buildings at Bucc helm and Cambesley. Enclosures were necessary to prevent the straying of livestock. That straying animals were often a problem is demonstrated by the orders granted to Melrose and Coupar for the return of their cattle⁶.

The amount of pasture required by cattle was, of course, greater than that for sheep. In 1223x1226, at Goverton, the permitted ratio was one cow or ten sheep⁷. This is noticeably greater than the 1:4 or 1:5 ratio that Knowles found common in England⁸.

Horses were essential for the movement of people⁹, and for hauling light loads. The frequent grants of pasture for small numbers of horses suggest strongly that transportation to and from granges was accomplished on horseback, and that goods were moved by horsedrawn vehicles.

¹ Duncan, Scotland, p. 363.

² Newb.Reg., no. 35, 36.

³ Melr.Lib., no. 36.

⁴ Ibid., no. 105-106.

⁵ Ibid., no. 107.

⁶ Melr.Lib., no. 305.

⁷ See above n. 2.

⁸ Knowles, Orders, i, p. 66, 72.

⁹ Melr.Lib., no. 134.

Table Seven: Numbers of Horses Mentioned in the Sources

House	Date	Numbers	
Balmerino	-	1	(1)
	1286	2	(2)
	1323x1342	1	(3)
Melrose	1165x1214	8	(4)
	1165x1214	1	(5)
	1165x1214	3	(6)
	1187x1199	5	(7)
	1214x1240	6	(8)
	1214x1249	2	(9)
	1306x1329	2	(10)
Newbattle	1214/1283	2	(11)

One of Newbattle's charters reveals that the grazing requirement of horses was the same as that of cattle¹². Horses could also be pastured in forests¹³.

With the numbers of horses required, it was natural that the abbeys maintained their own studs. In 1179x1189, the monks of Newbattle appear to have had an equisium at Romanno. They were permitted to keep up to 100 horses there, and there is mention of their haracium, or stable of breeding mares¹⁴. Melrose purchased the equisium of Earl Patrick in Lauder in 1247 for 120m.¹⁵. Coupar probably had a stud at Glenisla, as in 1499x1500 they were involved in an action for the loss of sixty horses and mares from there¹⁶.

¹ Balm.Lib., no. 49.

² Ibid., no. 17, 18.

³ Ibid., no. 50.

⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 82, 83, 85.

⁵ Ibid., no. 65.

⁶ Ibid., no. 90.

⁷ Ibid., no. 282, 283, 285.

⁸ Ibid., no. 252.

⁹ Ibid., no. 304.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 393. GRH, Yester Writs, no. 22.

¹¹ Newb.Reg., no. 116, 117.

¹² Ibid., no. 130.

¹³ Duncan, Scotland, p. 364.

¹⁴ Newb.Reg., no. 130.

¹⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 230, 231.

¹⁶ ADC, p. 353.

Pigs are only seldom mentioned specifically in the sources.

Table Eight: Pigs Pastured on Cistercian Lands in Scotland

House	Date	Details
Dundrennan	1161x1174	agreement concerning pannage (1)
Melrose	1165x1214	4 pigs and young of 3 years (2)
	1187x1214	1 pig and young of 2 years (3)
	1214x1249	2 pigs and young of 2 years (4)

Pigs are primarily meat animals, although pigskin is a strong good quality leather.

The Cistercians were major wool producers, and sheep were central to their economy. Apart from wool and skins, they were valuable for milk⁵, and manure.

As with the other animals, sheep are mentioned in the sources only with respect to their pastures. Many of the grants of pasture specify the number of sheep which the monks might keep on the land.

Table Nine: Grants of Sheep Pasture Specifying Numbers

House	Date	Details
Balmerino	1286	80 sheep and followers of 1 year (6)
	1323x1342	60 sheep (7)
Melrose	1165x1214	1500 wethers in 3 flocks (8)
	1165x1214	700 sheep with young of 2 years (9)
	1174x1199	120 sheep (10)
	1187x1199	200 sheep (11)
	1187x1199	100 sheep (12)

¹ Holm Reg., no. 133.

² Melr.Lib., no. 82, 83, 84.

³ Ibid., no. 90, 91.

⁴ Ibid., no. 252

⁵ C. B. Graves, "The Economic Activities of the Cistercians in Medieval England, 1128-1307", *Analecta*, xiii (1957), p. 22.

⁶ Balm.Lib., no. 17, 18.

⁷ Ibid., no. 30.

⁸ Melr.Lib., no. 377, 378.

⁹ Melr.Lib., no. 82, 83, 84.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 106.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 123, 270.

¹² Ibid., no. 90.

Table Nine continued

House	Date	Details	
Melrose	1203x1210	400 sheep	(1)
	1214x1240	100 sheep	(2)
	1214x1249	24 sheep	(3)
	1327	60 sheep	(4)
Newbattle	1179x1189	300 sheep	(5)
	1179x1189	700 sheep	(6)
	1214 or '83	200 sheep	(7)
	1223x1236	120 sheep	(8)
	-	800 sheep	(9)
	-	100 sheep	(10)

It is not possible to use this table as a guide to the total number of sheep owned by the Houses. It does suggest, however, that the numbers could be considerable.

Eileen Power has shown that the Scottish flocks were short-haired sheep¹¹. These grew a fine soft wool that was less valuable than that of the long-haired breeds. They were hardy beasts and could tolerate poor quality pastures. They thrived on waste, and moor, and on the high pastures which in winter could support no other animals¹².

¹ Melr.Lib., no. 137-9, 145.

² Ibid., no. 283, 284.

³ Ibid., no. 304.

⁴ Ibid., no. 393. GRH, Yester Writs, no. 22.

⁵ Newb.Reg., no. 77.

⁶ Ibid., no. 61-5.

⁷ Ibid., no. 116, 117.

⁸ Ibid., no. 35, 36.

⁹ Ibid., no. 79, 97.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 73, 74, 75.

¹¹ E. Power, The Wool Trade in English Medieval History, Oxford 1949, p. 21.

¹² Duncan, Scotland, p. 357.

Sheep required close supervision, and enclosure at night to prevent straying, and losses due to predators. Thus it was necessary that each flock have a fold. The typical fold was an area of land enclosed by means of a ditch and brushwood fence¹. Melrose was granted permission to make just such an enclosure at Hartside for its flock on Lammermoor². The only reference to quarters for shepherds is that of the temporary shelters at Whitelee mentioned earlier in this chapter³.

The Wool

As stated earlier, the Scottish sheep were short-hairs which produced a fine, soft wool suitable for the weaving of woollen cloth⁴. The only guide to the quality and amount produced by the Scottish Houses is Pegolotti's *Pratica della Mercatura*⁵. This list dates from the early to mid-thirteenth century and contains only limited material⁶. Each House is listed, with the number of sacks of each quality of wool, and the price per sack. The prices are given in marks, but the currency is not stated. It does provide some indication of the relative quality and quantity produced.

Table Ten: Quality and Prices of the Scottish Cistercian Wool Clips⁷

House	No. Sacks	Prices:	Best	Middling	Locks
Balmerino	14		10m.	7m.	4m.
Coupar	30		18½m.	10½m.	9m.
Dundrennan	15		18m.	10½m.	8m.
Glenluce	15		18m.	11m.	5m.
Melrose	50		16m.	10m.	8½m.
Newbattle	30		14½m.	9m.	7½m.
Chilosola*	15		15m.	11m.	7½m.

*either Culross or Kinloss (8)

¹ Donkin, The Cistercians, p. 99.

² Melr.Lib., no. 56.

³ See above page 79.

⁴ M.M.Postan, Medieval Trade and Finance, Cambridge 1973, p. 345.

⁵ Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura, ed. A. Evans, Massachusetts, 1935.

⁶ Ibid., p. xii-xiv.

⁷ Ibid., p. 259.

⁸ Duncan, Scotland, p. 430.

Of the seventeen Scottish monasteries mentioned in Pegolotti, the Cistercians received the highest payment for their wool. However, they do not compare with the quality and value of other Cistercian Houses in England and Wales: Tintern Abbey, which produced a fairly modest clip of 16 sacks, was paid 28m. for the best wool, 15m. for the middling, and 14 m. for the locks, or lowest quality¹. This is considerably higher than the prices paid to the Scottish monks.

A sack of wool contained about three hundred-weight of wool, or 364 pounds, being approximately 200 fleeces². Using Pegolotti's figures, the Cistercians in Scotland produced between 2,800 and 10,000 fleeces per year. It is simply not possible to determine the amount of wool actually produced by the Houses. With the exception of Pegolotti, the only mentions of wool are in the fourteenth century Exchequer Rolls, and the Register of the Great Seal³. These refer to the granting of 'custom' on the export of wool. The monks were fortunate to be relieved of customs payments on specified amounts of wool. The measurement used for wool in fleeces was sacks, skins were measured in lasts, with 100 to the last⁴.

Table Eleven: Customs Grants on Melrose Abbey's Exported Wool

Date	Amount (measured in Lasts, Sacks, and Stones)			
1361		15 sacks		(5)
1362	3 lasts	6 sacks		(6)
1366	2 lasts	5 sacks	16½ stone	(7)
1367	3 lasts	9 sacks	10½ stone	(8)
1368	5 lasts	8 sacks	6 stone	(9)

¹ Pegolotti, *Pratica*, p. 261.

² Duncan, *Scotland*, p. 139. Lekai, *The Cistercians*, p. 312.

³ See above p.7, n. 2 and n. 3.

⁴ *ER.*, ii, p. 91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 89

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 274-275.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 311

Table Eleven continued

Date	Amount			
1372	6 lasts	5 sacks		(1)
1373	6 lasts	1 sack	18 stone	(2)
1376	2 lasts	3 sacks	14 stone	(3)
1379	5 lasts		$\frac{1}{2}$ stone	(4)
1379		60 sacks		(5)
1380		69 sacks		(6)
1387	3 lasts	sacks	$6\frac{1}{2}$ stone	(7)
1391		60 sacks		(8)
1392	2 lasts	5 sacks	$18\frac{1}{2}$ stone	(9)
1393-1401		50 sacks each year		(10)

The above list is a selection from the entries in the Exchequer Rolls. The amounts are evidently not representative of the Abbey's entire out-put. Richard II granted Melrose the custom of up to 1000 sacks of wool in 1389 in recompense for the damage sustained by the abbey buildings due to the actions of his army¹¹. That grant need not have been for only one year.

In common with Cistercian Houses in the rest of Britain, the Scottish monks probably marketed tithe wool and Collecta with their own wool. Collecta was wool gathered from smaller producers, usually by purchase. The references are very few. In c. 1390x1406, Robert III granted Deer the custom of all the wool of their own sheep, as well as the tithe wool of the parish kirk of Deer to a total of 20 sacks¹². The amounts of wool cited in Table Eleven are sizeable, and argue the presence of Collecta.

¹ER, ii, p. 376.

²Ibid., p. 401.

³Ibid., p. 522.

⁴Ibid., p. 607.

⁵Ibid., iii, p. 3.

⁶Ibid., p. 53.

⁷Ibid., p. 150.

⁸Ibid., p. 247-8.

⁹Ibid., p. 283.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 321, 352, 379, 408, 436, 470, 514, 515, 516.

¹¹Ibid., p. 631.

¹²RMS, i, p. 639.

Most abbeys processed some of their wool for their own uses. There is only one fulling mill recorded. This was Coupar's mill at Kinreich, first mentioned as already in existence in 1201-1205¹. The Order was known for processing their own clip for the market, a practice which added to the value of the wool². It is likely that the Scottish Houses also prepared their wool but there is only one reference to it. In 1309, Sweetheart sought the return of 8½ sacks of "good teased wool" stored at Holm Cultram³.

As Table Twelve shows, the monks shipped wool from Berwick-upon-Tweed and Leith. As Melrose had property in Boston⁴, a major wool port, it is more than possible that they shipped some wool from there. Most Scottish wool went to Flanders⁵. Pegolotti's list prices included the price of carriage to Flanders⁶. In 1225, Melrose shipped wool to Flanders from Berwick-upon-Tweed⁷.

Table Twelve: Cistercian Wool Ships

House	Date	Details	
Coupar	1225	1 vessel carrying wool to Flanders	(8)
Melrose	1225	vessel to Flanders from Berwick	(9)
	1230	vessel carrying merchandise	(10)
	1376	1 ship carrying wool	(11)
	1379	6 ships carrying wool	(12)
	1387	4 ships carrying wool from Leith	(13)
	1388	7 ships carrying wool from Leith	(14)
	1392	6 ships and 1 boat carrying wool	(15)

¹ C.A.Chrs., no. 60.

² Duncan, Scotland, p. 430. Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 313-14.

³ CDS, iii, p. 13.

⁴ Holm Reg., no. 128.

⁵ Donkin, Cistercians, p. 85.

⁶ Pegolotti, Pratica, p. xxix.

⁷ Patent Rolls Henry III 1216-1225, p. 519.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Patent Rolls Henry III 1225-1232, p. 332.

¹¹ ER, ii, p. 522.

¹² Ibid., p. 607.

¹³ Ibid., iii, p. 150.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 186.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 283.

It is evident that these ships were in the care of the monks' own men. In 1225, the vessel belonging to Coupar cited in Table Twelve was in the charge of Friar [sic] Gilbert Fabre. Melrose's ship in 1225 was in the care of Friar [sic] William de Buelton¹.

Although the monks were undoubtedly successful sheep farmers, agriculture is a chancy business. Sheep are particularly vulnerable to disease². The reigns of Edward I and Edward II in England saw severe outbreaks of sheep diseases throughout the kingdom³. It is unlikely that Scotland remained unaffected, but there is no evidence.

The monks did not only market wool, three of the entries in the Patent Rolls refer to their ships as carrying "wool and other merchandise"⁴. There is some evidence that cattle and horses were sold. Melrose was denied the right to sell the cattle of the folds and cowbyres near 'Sorrowlessfield' in 1208⁵. The action of Coupar in 1499/1500, although past the finishing date of this study, mentions a loss of profit to the value of 6s 8d each on the theft of 60 horses from Glenisla⁶. This is suggestive of sales.

The monks participated in fairs and markets. The agreement between Melrose and Holm Cultram reveals their involvement in the St. Botolf Fair⁶. In addition, as time passed, many of the Houses came to have the right to fairs and markets on their own lands⁷. These would have been profitable, not only in payments from stall holders, and merchants, but also in the marketing of their own produce, and the acquisition of the wool of smaller producers.

¹ See above, p. 29.

² Donkin, The Cistercians, p. 71.

³ Power, The Wool Trade, p. 37-38.

⁴ Patent Rolls Henry III, 1216-1225, p. 519; 1225-1232, p. 332.

⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 101-5.

⁶ ADC, ii, p. 353.

⁷ Holm Reg., no. 128.

⁸ RMS, 1424-1513, p. 195-447.

⁹ Graves, "Economic Activities", p. 15.

Indirect Exploitation

As happened elsewhere in the Order, the Scottish Cistercians turned from the direct exploitation of their lands to the practice of renting their properties to tenants. In England this was a fourteenth century phenomenon¹. The Scottish records from that century are too scarce to make it possible to trace the rise of rents in that country. Further, only Coupar Angus has left any record of its relations with tenants within the time limits of this study². This reveals that the monks treated their tenants in much the same way as the lay landowners of the period did theirs³. They were paid rents in cash and kind, and received services. Their economy lost its specifically Cistercian character⁴. For these reasons, this aspect of the monks' history will not be dealt with in this thesis.

Cash

The Scottish Cistercians came to control and handle cash sums in their everyday dealings, and the abbeys could and did contain considerable stores of coin. These monies were derived from a variety of sources: the monks own economic activities; sums collected as part of the Abbot's outside duties; and money belonging to laymen.

The monastic economy, although based on agriculture, did involve currency transactions. The monks earned money in the

¹J. S. Donnelly "Changes in the Grange Economy of the English and Welsh Cistercian Abbeys 1300-1540", *Traditio*, v (1954), p. 401.

²See above p. 1, n. 1.

³*C.A.Rent.*, i, p. xxvi-xl.

⁴Donnelly, "Grange Economy", p. 401.

merchandising of their excess produce¹, and from the payment of rents by tenants². They were also in receipt of cash donations. Hard currency was needed by the monks, as they paid coin for the purchase of property³ and the payment of rents⁴. In addition, they had to pay for goods and services which were beyond their own capacity to provide.

From time to time, Cistercian abbots were named as Collectors of the Papal Tenth⁵. They were then responsible for the gathering and storing of the often large sums thus accumulated; in 1331 a monk of Coupar delivered 4,000 florins for the Scottish Tenth⁶.

There is evidence that secular financial matters were occasionally transacted under the supervision of the abbeys. One royal servant, the Custodian of Berwick Castle, received his wages at Melrose in 1291⁷. In 1305 Melrose was issued a receipt for 14m. held by them from the Burgesses of Peebles for one William de Durem⁸. In 1295-1298 £44 13s 5d, described as "forfeited money of Scotsmen", was confiscated by the English from Coupar⁹.

Plague, Famine and War

The abbeys were, with the rest of Scotland, at risk from the natural disasters of weather, pest, and disease, both animal and human. The sources are silent on the subject of crop failures due to weather and insects. The impact of the Black Death on Scotland is largely unknown, certainly its effect on the Cistercian population cannot be determined. The Plague must surely have affected both

¹ See above pages 81-84.

² See above p. 86.

³ See above p. 55, 56.

⁴ See above p. 54, 55.

⁵ See e.g. CPL, ii, p. 502.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland 1286-1306, ed., J. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1870, i, p. 263.

⁸ Melr.Lib., no. 354.

⁹ Stevenson, Documents, i, p. 264.

the Cistercian communities, and their lay servant and tenant populations, but one is left to speculate with no data.

The violent border conflicts between England and Scotland created serious difficulties for several of the Houses, particularly those in Galloway and the Lothian Borders. These problems ranged from damage to crops and buildings to the plundering and ruination of the abbey buildings. In addition trade and other activities in England were considerably complicated by the war.

The disturbances experienced by the abbeys varied. On occasion the violence intruded into the cloisters. Glenluce was plundered, and Melrose's claustral buildings badly burned¹. Some of the Houses requested compensation from the English Crown for damages. In 1300x1307 Melrose was granted 40 oaks in answer to their request for timber to "restore their dwellings which have been burned and destroyed"². Dundrennan asked for £8,000 in 1299³. Sweetheart demanded £400, and later £1,500. In addition, the Abbey sought and obtained the return of 8½ sacks of wool that had been wrongfully confiscated⁴.

It is obvious that the damage to the monks' economy could be severe. Melrose was forced to seek foodstuffs in England in the years between 1365 and 1367 because of the war⁵. Sweetheart complained in 1320 that they were so impoverished by the continuous warfare that "they can neither maintain themselves, the service of

¹CM, p. 84.

²CDS, ii, p. 526.

³Ibid., p. 287.

⁴Ibid., p. 286.

⁵CPR Edward III, 1364-1367, p. 124.

God, nor the alms of their House"¹. However, it was Coupar Angus that appears to have suffered most. The monks had been forced to abandon the Abbey, and disperse in 1348², and in 1389, a letter to the Pope stated that the war had caused "serious reduction in the revenues of the monastery ... reducing the monastery to ruins"³.

It should be noted that the monks were under threat from other than the English; it was the Welsh troops of the English King who damaged Sweetheart⁴, and that Abbey's wool had been stored at Holm Cultram to protect it from the Scots⁵.

The war also created administrative difficulties. Travel into or through England was made more cumbersome by the need for letters of protection, and permission⁶. Contact with properties in England, and with Melrose's daughter-house of Holm Cultram, and with Rievaulx must have been made considerably more complicated.

Debt

There is little evidence of indebtedness by the Scottish Houses. The monks of Melrose are recorded as in debt to the Society of Pullici and Rembertini for 130 marks in 1306⁷. Coupar owed the same Society 180 marks⁸. That abbey encountered grave difficulties, as mentioned in the previous section, and was unable to pay the pension owed to the General Chapter from the Church of Airlie. These difficulties appear to have been largely the result of the war⁹.

¹CDS, ii, p. 286.

²King, "Coupar Angus and Cîteaux", p. 53.

³Clement VII Letters, p. 80.

⁴Holm Reg., p. 139.

⁵CDS, ii, p. 286.

⁶See e.g. Patent Rolls Henry III 1216-1225, p. 460.

⁷CDS, ii, p. 470.

⁸Ibid.

⁹See above n. 2.

Debts to the abbeys were not always easily collected. There are royal documents commanding that debts be paid to the monks¹. It was also necessary for some of the Houses to obtain royal protection against demands for payment of debts not their own².

Conclusions

The Scottish Cistercians were efficient agriculturalists. Their properties were well organised using the system of granges, and were run as individual mixed farms. They were well equipped for success as wool-producers. Their sheep produced substantial amounts of good quality wool, and they were able to prepare it for market themselves. They had advantageous exemptions from tolls and customs dues, and they owned their own ships. The net result was an economy based on agriculture that was sufficient, barring war and pestilence, to supply the Houses with most of their own needs, and a surplus which could be marketed for a cash income. The exploitation of Cistercian lands changed gradually from direct exploitation by the monks and their men, to exploitation through tenants.

¹ See e.g. RRS, ii, p. 317, no. 298.

² See e.g. Ibid, no. 155.

Chapter Five
Spiritualities

In addition to temporal sources of income, the monks had other resources, usually referred to as 'spiritualities'¹. In Scotland these included: appropriated churches; gifts to the abbey churches and altars; indulgences; pittances; grants for the use of the sick, poor, and pilgrims.

Appropriated Churches

The acquisition of churches and altars was strictly forbidden in the Order's early years². In 1202 this was modified, and churches could be accepted with the permission of the Chapter General³. It became common for the monks to seek the ownership of churches, and the Scottish Houses came to own nearly fifty.

Table One: Churches Appropriated by the Scottish Cistercians

House	Date	Church	
Balmerino	c1225	Balmerino	(4)
	1230	Barry	(5)
	1233/4	Coultra	(6)
	c1275	Logie Murdoch	(7)
Coupar	1220	Airlie	(8)
	c1308	Alvah	(9)
	c1221	Bendochy	(10)
	1161	Coupar	(11)
	1305/6	Fossoway	(12)
	1311	Glenisla	(13)
	1279x1283	Meathie	(14)

¹ Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 293.

² Statuta (1134) 9.

³ Codification 1202, Distinction XI, no. 1.

⁴ Balm.Lib., no. 4.

⁵ Ibid., no. 1, 9.

⁶ Ibid., no. 2, 3, 4.

⁷ Ibid., no. 77.

⁸ C.A.Chrs., no. 26.

⁹ Ibid., no. 95.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 33.

¹¹ RRS., i, no. 226.

¹² C.A.Chrs., no. 85.

¹³ Ibid., no. 96.

¹⁴ Alexander III Handlist, no. 244.

Table One continued

House	Date	Church	
Culross	1227	Crombie	(1)
	1217	Culross	(2)
	1217	Tullibole	(3)
Deer	pre 1256	Deer	(4)
	1315	Foveran	(5)
	1315	King Edward	(6)
	-	Peterhead	(7)
Dundrennan	1351	Dundrennan	(8)
	1351	Kirkmabreck	(9)
Glenluce	1191/2	Glenluce	(10)
Kinloss	1274	Avoch	(11)
	1310	Ellon	(12)
Melrose	1358	Ayr	(13)
	-	Ettrick	(14)
	1179x1187	Hassendean	(15)
	1315	Magna Cavers	(16)
	c1178	Mauchline	(17)
	1136	Melrose	(18)
	1316	Ochiltree	(19)
	c1321	Westerkirk	(20)

¹ Dunf.Reg., no. 214.

² W. Douglas, "Culross Abbey and its Charters", PSAS lx, p. 70.
RMS, ii, no.9.

³ W. Douglas, "Culross Abbey and its Charters:", PSAS lx, p.70/
RMS, ii, no. 1598.

⁴ Abdn.Reg., ii, no. 40.

⁵ RMS, i, p. 511, Index B no. 23.

⁶ Ibid., i, p. 511, Index B no. 24.

⁷ Cowan, Parishes, no. 164. This is an invaluable source of information on the appropriated parishes of medieval Scotland.

⁸ Ibid., p. 170.

⁹ Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 76.

¹¹ SHS Misc., vi, p. 50.

¹² CSSR, i, p. 48-49.

¹³ Melr.Lib., no. 481.

¹⁴ OPS, i, p. 260-1.

¹⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 121.

¹⁶ Ibid., no. 462.

¹⁷ Ibid., no. 407.

¹⁸ Melr.Lib., no. 496.

¹⁹ Ibid., no. 397-406.

²⁰ Ibid., no. 383-8.

Table One continued

House	Date	Church	
Newbattle	1316	Bathgate	(1)
	c1357	Cockpen	(2)
	1285	Heriot	(3)
	1320	Masterton	(4)
	1140	Newbattle	(5)
	c1320	Tranent	(6)
Saddell	1360	Inchmarnock	(7)
	to 1360	Kildomine	(8)
	-	Kilchattan	(9)
	-	Kilkevan	(10)
Sweetheart	1347	Buittle	(11)
	1331	Crossmichael	(12)
	1274	Kirkcolm	(13)
	1274	Kirkpatrick-Durham	(14)
	pre 1398	Loch Kinderloch	(15)

Two of the Houses are known to have had churches outside Scotland. Melrose had churches in England, and Dundrennan had churches in Ireland¹⁶.

Abbey Parishes

As can be seen in Table One, the abbeys controlled the parishes

¹ Newb.Reg., no. 159, 160, 161.

² Ibid., no. 22-25, Carte Orig. no. 23.

³ Ibid., no. 59.

⁴ Ibid., no. 54-56, 273.

⁵ Ibid., no. 2.

⁶ St A.Cop., p. 446.

⁷ Highland Papers, iv, p. 142-4.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ OPS, ii, p. 100.

¹⁰ Cowan, Parishes, p. 101.

¹¹ CPL, iii, p. 396.

¹² Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope, ed. W. H. Bliss, London, 1896, i, p. 556.

¹³ Cowan, Parishes, p. 119.

¹⁴ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 87.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ CDS, iii, p. 173-4.

in which they stood. In most instances they seem to have been parishes which grew up around the Houses, rather than existing parishes being granted to the monks. This was so at Melrose¹, and at Newbattle². In two cases these parishes were considerably extended by absorbing another parish. The parish of Masterton was incorporated into Newbattle³, and the parish of Balmerino was combined with Coultra⁴.

The evolution of Melrose into a parish is documented in 1227x1241. Gregory IX permitted the priests of Melrose to deliver sacraments to "those serving the monastery who cannot easily have access to their own priests"⁵. In 1394, the Bishop of Glasgow granted the Abbot the privilege of selecting one of his own convent to provide services in Melrose "as do other parish priests in the diocese"⁶. Two, at least, of the abbey churches served as parish churches: Melrose⁷, and Glenluce⁸.

Chapels

Some churches were erected from chapels. The grange chapel of Mauchline was erected into a baptismal church in 1315⁹. One other church is likely to have begun as a chapel, that is Melrose's church of Ettrick.

In addition to churches and chapels, the monks held chapels which were dependant on churches. Melrose had four churches which are known to have dependant chapels, they were: the church of Ayr,

¹ See below notes 4 and 5.

² Cowan, Parishes, p. 44.

³ Ibid., p. 41.

⁴ Cowan, Parishes, p. 21.

⁵ GRH, GD 55/496.

⁶ Melr.Lib., no. 496. For a more detailed examination of monks serving as parish priest see below page 101-2.

⁷ OPS, i, p. 285.

⁸ Cowan, Parishes, p. 63.

⁹ Melr.Lib., no. 73, 407-8.

had more than one chapel dependant upon it¹; Hassendean had a chapel on the Teviot²; Magna Cavers had the chapels of Carlanrig, and Cross³; and Melrose itself had St. Cuthbert's chapel at Old Melrose⁴ and Cheildhills⁵.

There were other churches which the sources call chapels, but it is unknown whether they were dependant on baptismal churches, or were grange chapels. These were: Coupar's chapel of the Holy Trinity on an island in Forfar Loch⁶; Melrose's chapel at Fogo⁷, and St. Mary's of Parc⁸. These chapels were, like the parish churches, located on or near Cistercian lands. The grant concerning the Chapel of the Holy Trinity is slightly unusual. The monks were granted 10 m. a year for a mass in that chapel on "our island in our loch of Forfar"⁹. The money was to support two monks in a cell there.

The monks justified their acquisition of churches, the most common plea being poverty¹⁰, on the grounds that "monks are to be included amongst the poor, who have a traditional and canonical claim on the tithes"¹¹. The justifications which appear in the Scottish sources are: poverty¹²; war damage¹³; for the poor and pilgrims¹⁴; for the fabric of the monastery church¹⁵; hospitality¹⁶; and for the

¹ Melr.Lib., no. 481

² OPS, i, p. 318.

³ Ibid., p. 331, 334. Melr. Lib., no. 462.

⁴ Melr.Lib., no. 355, 561, 562, 570.

⁵ OPS, i, p. 285.

⁶ C.A.Chrs., no. 25.

⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 327.

⁸ Ibid., no. 108, 111, 174.

⁹ C.A.Chrs., no. 25.

¹⁰ Lekai, The Cistercians, p. 293. L. Desmond, "The Appropriation of Churches by the Cistercians in England to 1400", Analecta, xxxi (1975) p. 257.

¹¹ Godfrey, The English Parish, p. 71.

¹² See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 387, 407. C.A.Chrs., no. 103.

¹³ See e.g. CSSR, i, p. 48-49. OPS, i, p. 317.

¹⁴ See e.g. Melr.Lib., no. 121, 407.

¹⁵ See e.g. GRH, GD 40/30.

¹⁶ See e.g. CSSR, i, p. 49.

provision of pittances¹.

Means of Appropriation

The majority of churches were acquired as gifts². Others, however, were granted in return for a yearly payment³. When Meathie was granted to Coupar (1279x1283), the donor reserved 2m. per annum to himself and his successors⁴. Balmerino settled the question of annual payments to Arbroath Abbey for the church of Barry in 1234. They granted Arbroath land to the value of 40m. per annum⁵. In addition to rents, and the usual payments to the diocese⁶, there were other calls upon the fruits of some churches. Coupar owed £20 per annum to the General Chapter from the church of Airlie⁷, and Glenisla had to pay £10 a year to the Abbot of Cambuskenneth for a pension granted to him by the Pope⁸. Several of the churches paid for the maintenance of chaplains and prebends at the Cathedral of Aberdeen; Coupar paid 6 marks a year from Atholl⁹ for a chaplain, Deer maintained a prebend at 20 marks annually¹⁰, and Kinloss paid 24 marks for a prebend for a canon, and 100s for a perpetual chaplain who also had a habit and a house provided by them¹¹. Melrose paid 20s pension a year to Glasgow¹² for Hassendean, and Coupar's church of Bendochy owed 2 marks annually to Dunfirmline¹³.

¹ See e.g. Melr. Lib., no. 429.

² See e.g. Balm.Lib., no. 4, 5. C.A.Chrs., no. 68. 112.

³ See e.g. Balm.Lib., no. 1, 9. C.A.Chrs., no. 26, 27, 150.

⁴ C.A.Chrs., no. 27.

⁵ Alexander II Handlist, no. 193.

⁶ See below pages 100-1.

⁷ C.A.Chrs., no. 27, 36.

⁸ Ibid., no. 96.

⁹ Ibid., no. 101, 108.

¹⁰ Abdn.Reg., i, p. 40.

¹¹ CSSR, i, 48-49. Abdn.Reg., i, p. 48-50. CPL, iv, p. 225-6.

¹² Melr.Lib., no. 121-3.

¹³ C.A.Chrs., no. 33.

At least one church was granted in lieu of money owed to the monks. Newbattle was granted Bathgate instead of an annual pension due them from the Canons of Holyrood¹.

Not all of the appropriations were successful. In some cases, donations were ineffective. This was the case with the grants of Kinghorn to Melrose², and Eassie³ and Clerkington⁴ to Newbattle. Some grants were later revoked; this was so with the grants of Turrif to Coupar⁵, Balmaclellan to Dundrennan⁶, and Torbolton and Wilton to Melrose⁷. The monks occasionally claimed rights in a church, but were unable to appropriate. Melrose unsuccessfully claimed Hownam⁹, and Sweetheart attempted to appropriate Wigtown¹⁰. Disputes over appropriations were not uncommon, and the monks sometimes lost. Coupar lost the dispute for Kettins¹¹, and Melrose lost the struggle for Dunscore¹². All of these churches were located near Cistercian lands.

¹ Newb.Reg., no. 161.

² Melr.Lib., no. 129, 274. CPL, viii, p. 667.

³ Cowan, Parishes, p. 57.

⁴ Newb.Reg., Carte Orig. no. 8, 9.

⁵ Clement VII Letters, p. 80. C.A.Chrs., no. 119.

⁶ C. Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland, Grampian Club, 1882, p. 14-15.

⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 447-59. GRH, RH6/148.

⁸ Melr.Lib., no. 475.

⁹ GRH, CH 4/24/25/28/

¹⁰ Cowan, Parishes, p. 210.

¹¹ CPL, iv, p. 253. GRH, Yester Writs, no. 9, 11, 12, 36.

¹² Melr.Lib., no. 199-202, 312, 320.

There are two known instances of delayed appropriations. Melrose was granted Magna Cavers in 1358, but it was not effective until 1419¹. Sweetheart was granted Buittle in 1347, but did not enjoy possession until 1369².

Degrees of Appropriation

The degrees of appropriation is a complex subject, and has been dealt with for Scotland by Ian Cowan³. With regard to the churches held by the Cistercians, it is only necessary to consider ius patronatus and in proprios usus. The former was the right of presentation to a benefice⁴, and the latter was full appropriation, in that it gave "all rights and revenues as rector"⁵.

In some cases, churches were granted in ius patronatus only. This was the case with Coupar's churches of Glenisla⁶, and Meathie⁷, Melrose's church at Hassendean⁸, and Sweetheart's churches of Kirkcolm⁹ and Kirkpatrick-Durham¹⁰. It became more common for churches to be granted in proprios usus, and the monks' interest in their churches led to greater rights in the revenues until eventually, all their churches were fully appropriated¹¹.

¹ Cowan, Parishes, p. 30.

² Ibid., p. 23.

³ I. B. Cowan, "Vicarages and the Cure of Souls in Medieval Scotland," RSCHS, xvi (1966-68), p. 111-27.

⁴ Nicholson, Scotland, p. 11.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ C.A.Chrs., no. 96.

⁷ Ibid., no. 68, 112.

⁸ Melr.Lib., no. 121.

⁹ Cowan, Parishes, p. 119.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 123.

¹¹ Cowan, "Vicarages", p. 111.

Full appropriation meant that as rectors, the monks were responsible not only for appointing the vicars, but for providing them with their yearly incomes¹. There were two basic arrangements: yearly cash payments; shares of the fruits. There were great difficulties experienced by parish priests in the Middle Ages in securing sufficient incomes. There were repeated attempts by church authorities to establish a minimum wage. In the late thirteenth century a Scottish church canon directed that vicars be paid no less than 10 marks, and no more than 100 s.². In practice, £10 was a common figure in the erection of vicarages³.

The highest recorded income for a vicar in one of the Cistercian-held churches was that paid by Newbattle to the vicar of Heriot in 1285. He was paid £20 per annum⁴, 20s. of it being in land. The vicars of Coupar's church of Alvah, and Melrose's church of Ochiltree were paid £10, and the Alvah vicar also received a toft and croft, grazing, and buildings for the storage of the Ordinaries⁵. Some were paid in marks, ranging from the 100m. paid to the vicar of Ellon by Kinloss⁶, to the 25 m. and half the church lands which were the portion of Melrose's vicar at Magna Cavers⁷, and the 10 m. paid to the vicar of Fossoway by Coupar⁸. The vicar of Coupar's church of Meathie⁹, and Newbattle's vicar at Cockpen¹⁰ were paid 100s. yearly. The

¹ G.G.Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, Cambridge, 1933, p. 77.

² Cowan, "Vicarages", p. 214.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Newb.Reg., no. 55.

⁵ Glas.Reg., no. 264. Melr.Lib., no. 398-406. C.A.Chrs., no. 79, 101, 108.

⁶ Abdn.Reg., i, p. 48-56.

⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 466.

⁸ CSSR., i, p. 51.

⁹ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁰ Newb.Reg., no. 58.

variations in income were probably due to a number of factors ranging from the value of the church, to the type of cure¹.

In addition to cash payments, there is evidence that the Houses divided the fruits of the churches with the vicars. Arrangements varied considerably. At Ochiltree, in addition to his salary the vicar was given the bread and wine needed for the church, half the altarage, 3 acres glebe, and garden². At Ellon, Kinloss took the tithes of corn, and gave the vicar a manse and garden³. At Buittle, Sweetheart took the tithes of the sheaves, and half the land, meadow and common pasture⁴. They took half the church lands of their churches of Kirkpatrick-Durham, and Lochkinderloch⁵ in similar arrangements. Not many details of the division of fruits have survived, but it is obvious from the available data that the monks profited greatly⁶. Controversies did arise between the monks and their vicars; Coupar and the vicar of Glenisla quarrelled over the grain grown on the church lands⁷.

As well as sharing the profits of the church, the two parties usually shared the burdens. The common division was that the vicar paid the ordinaries, and the rector, the extraordinaries⁸. This was not invariable. At Kirkpatrick-Durham the vicar paid

¹ Cowan, "Vicarages", p. 210, 214.

² Melr.Lib., no. 517.

³ Kinloss Recs., no. 9.

⁴ CPL, iii, p. 396.

⁵ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 87.

⁶ A. Hamilton Thompson, The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages, Oxford, 1947, p. 117.

⁷ C.A.Chrs., no. 10.

⁸ Cowan, "Vicarages", p. 123. See e.g. CPL, iii, p. 396.

two - fifths of the exactions¹. At Loch Kinderloch, the vicar was responsible for payment of synodal, archdiaconal and other dues².

The records contain few details concerning the amounts paid to the diocese. The church of Meathie owed 2 m. per annum in exactions, and most unusually paid cain³. Another of Coupar's churches; St. Bride's of Fossoway, had one quarter of its fruits reserved as procurations to Dunblane⁴. In 1486, five of Coupar's churches; Airlie, Bendochy, Fossoway, Glenisla, and Meathie were exempted from the payment of episcopal dues⁵.

There were occasional problems created by the Scottish bishops. The Abbot of Coupar had to request the Bishop not to visit the church of Glenisla with more than twelve horses⁶. In 1402, Melrose had a dispute over episcopal visitation of Mauchline. The abbot won his case⁷. In 1477, the Bishop of Dunkeld demanded a subsidy from Bendochy. The monks successfully claimed exemption from all "but what they wished to owe"⁸.

Monks Serving Churches and Chapels

Although monks were canonically forbidden to serve as parish priests⁹, by the fourteenth century papal documents concerning church appropriations routinely inserted a clause permitting them to hold the benefice¹⁰. While the Scottish Cistercians were, in

¹ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 87.

² Ibid.

³ C.A.Chrs., no. 109 and n.

⁴ CSSR, i, p. 51.

⁵ C.A.Chrs., no. 150.

⁶ Ibid., no. 24-27.

⁷ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 95.

⁸ C.A.Chrs., no. 73-75.

⁹ Lateran Council of 1123, in J. Godfrey, The English Parish 600-1300, London, 1969, p. 74. See above p. 94.

¹⁰ Knowles, Orders, ii, p. 293.

Cowan's phrase "particularly given to the practice of serving churches themselves, thus diverting the entire revenue", concessions were usually applied to the parishes in which the abbeys stood¹. Several of the Houses are documented as serving their local parishes: Balmerino, Culross, Dundrennan, Glenluce², Melrose³, Newbattle⁴ and Sweetheart⁵.

At least two of the abbey churches are thought to have acted as parish churches, namely Melrose⁶ and Glenluce⁷. Beyond this there is only one monk who is known to have served a benefice. Thomas de Kirkcudbrych of Sweetheart was granted the parish of Loch Kinderloch, and its yearly stipend of £10. It is not known if he ever served this parish himself, as he was granted the benefice to finance his university education⁸.

David de Lindsay, Lord of Crawford, had two chapels, Blessed Thomas the Martyr beside Crawford Castle, and the Chapel of Blessed Lawrence the Martyr. A charter of Newbattle reveals that he provided the livings, and asked the monks to provide the chaplains. These could be either seculars, or monks⁹.

Grants to the Poor and Pilgrims

The abbeys were in receipt of grants of both land and money for the 'relief of poor and pilgrims who arrived at the gates'. The Porter of Melrose had control of land for this purpose. Properties were located at Borthwick and 'Ilifston', and were acquired in the first half of the thirteenth century¹⁰. One charter reveals that

¹ Cowan, "Vicarages", p. 217.

² Ibid.

³ OPS, i, p. 318. Melr.Lib., no. 496. GRH, GD 55/496.

⁴ Cowan, "Vicarages", p. 217.

⁵ CPL, vi, p. 251.

⁶ OPS, i, p. 76.

⁷ Cowan, "Vicarages", p. 63.

⁸ Clement VII Letters, p. 110. CPL, iv, p. 251.

⁹ Newb.Reg., no. 151.

¹⁰ Melr.Lib., no. 261, 263, 267. GRH, GD 55/626.

the Porter traded one oxgang in Edenham for land in Ilifston, which suggests that he was consolidating his holdings¹.

The grants of cash also seem to have been administered by the Porters. At Culross, the monks had a small fund of ld. per annum to administer². Melrose had three such grants: in 1214x1249 the porter was given £10 for the poor³; 40s. in 1260⁴; in 1326 100 s. was given to provide food for 15 paupers annually at Pentecost and the feast of St. Martin⁵. The funds for the poor at Newbattle included £19 8s granted in 1293, and two grants of 1 m. and 1 m. 2 s. respectively⁶.

There is a single grant to the Infirmary of Newbattle of 3 m. per annum, to be controlled by the Infirmarius⁸.

Pittances

There were grants of money for use as pittances, and for delicacies for the monks. Balmerino was given 20 s. for this purpose each year on the anniversary of Queen Ermengarde⁸. Melrose had a number of such grants including a pittance for 20 years granted in 1326 to be at the discretion of the Prior⁹. That same year they received money for pittances with the proviso that the fund be put in the hands of a reliable monk¹⁰. Also in 1326, the monks of Melrose

¹ GRH, GD 55/626

² Carte Monialium de Northberwic, Bannatyne Club, 1847, no. 17.

³ Melr.Lib., no. 262.

⁴ Ibid., no. 318.

⁵ Ibid., no. 267.

⁶ Newb.Reg., no. 174, 181, 182.

⁷ Melr.Lib., no. 267.

⁸ Ibid., no. 263.

⁹ N.B.Chrs., no. 17.

¹⁰ Melr.Lib., no. 262.

were granted £100 per year by Robert the Bruce to be used to provide the monks with daily helpings of a delicacy, and to clothe and feed fifteen paupers at Martinmas¹. Newbattle was granted funds for a pittance and delicacies in 1293², but it was a much more modest sum of 4 s. for the former, and 2s for the latter. These examples are representative of these grants, and demonstrate that these monies were not connected with any one office, but could be the responsibility of any member of the Chapter.

Grants of Wax

Wax was an expensive but necessary means of lighting churches and altars, and donors were generous in gifts of wax, often specifying where and when it was to be used. In 1220, Coupar was granted one stone of wax for the lighting of the abbey church at Christmas³, and c. 1240, 20 s. for lights for the high altar⁴. Melrose was granted half a stone of wax, or 30 d. per annum for a candle in their chapel of St. Cuthbert, and in 1296, 2 pounds of wax for lights at the tomb of St. Waldeve⁵. A more unusual gift was give to the House in 1214x 1249, of one 'virgam' [sic] of land for the great altar of Melrose⁶. Newbattle was given one stone and a half of wax for the church in two separate grants⁷.

Indulgences

In 1321, Simon, Bishop of Whithorn granted an Indulgence of forty days to donors and pilgrims to Melrose's chapel of St. Cuthbert. This was to aid in the rebuilding of the Abbey, which had been burned

¹ Melr.Lib., no. 362.

² Newb.Reg., no. 174.

³ C.A.Chrs., no. 30.

⁴ Ibid., no. 19.

⁵ Melr.Lib., no. 334, 348.

⁶ Ibid., no. 256.

⁷ Newb.Reg., no. 195, 196, 221.

by the English¹. In 1417x1431, Pope Martin V granted an Indulgence of seven years and seven Lents to visitors on certain feast days to the chapel. This was at the request of Dean John of Caverton, monk of Melrose². In 1427, the Abbey was said to have had a notable collection of relics, and many pilgrim visitors³. In 1403, Newbattle was granted an Indulgence for visitors to the Abbey, and those giving financial assistance for the repair of the Abbey and church, "recently burned and almost destroyed by enemies of Scotland"⁴. Culross requested an Indulgence in 1420 "of six years and as many quarantines as often as they do so " for those who visit on the first of July, or give alms. The reason for the request was that the Abbey had been burned by the English⁵.

Burials

As discussed in chapter two⁶, royalty and nobility requested and were granted burial in Cistercian Houses. These burials, permitted by the Order⁷, meant both payment, and visitors. There is no record in the sources of chantry chapels, or monies paid for burials, so the extent of financial remuneration is unknown. One charter of Melrose mentions a daily mass for the dead "at the altar used frequently in memory of the Frasers". This was part of the settlement of a controversy⁸.

Conclusions

It is not possible to determine the extent of the income derived by the Cistercian Order in Scotland from 'spiritual' sources, as there

¹ Melr.Lib., no. 562.

² Ibid., no. 561.

³ CSSR, iv, p. 263.

⁴ Benedict XIII Letters, p. 115.

⁵ CSSR., iv, p. 208.

⁶ See above p. 40.

⁷ Codification 1202, Distinction X, no. a. 31, b. 25.

⁸ GRH, Yester Writs, no. 38.

is insufficient detail in the sources. It is apparent, however, that this sort of income was desirable, and actively sought after, particularly the possession of churches and chapels. These must surely have been the most lucrative of the spiritualities.

In comparison with their Scottish monastic contemporaries, the Cistercians controlled a small number of churches. For example Kelso had 37 churches, Arbroath 34, and St. Andrews had 25¹. The Cistercians' churches were acquired between the late thirteenth and the late fourteenth centuries. Ian Cowan has suggested that the reason for the small number of churches lies in the White Monks' late start. Having resisted temptation, the monks missed their chance, as most churches had already been appropriated².

It is worth mentioning again that both successful and unsuccessful appropriations were located on, or near, Cistercian lands. None were in towns. The effect of owning lands and churches in the same area must have been a greater degree of control and consolidation of abbey estates.

There is little doubt that the monks extracted as much profit as possible from their appropriations³. However, there is little information available concerning the spiritual standards in Cistercian parishes. There is no reason to believe the White Monks any better or worse than their contemporaries.

The variety of spiritualites; pittances, gifts to altars, to the poor, pilgrims and sick, serve to demonstrate that there was

¹ P. McNeill, & R. Nicholson, An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, St. Andrews, 1975, p. 39.

² Conversations with Prof. I. B. Cowan, Glasgow, spring 1985.

³ I. B. Cowan, "Some Aspects of the Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland", RSCHS, xiii (1957-9), p. 220.

a high regard for Cistercian monasteries in Scotland. The frequent mention of pilgrims and pious visitors shows that the abbeys played an integral role in the spiritual life of medieval Scotland, even if they did derive a profit therefrom.

Conclusion

It is evident that there is sufficient source material available to make possible an understanding of several of the most important aspects of the history of the Cistercian Order in Scotland. These are; the monks' relations with their lay patrons, life within the Houses, and the agricultural and economic activities of the abbeys. The history of the White Monks in Scotland in the years between 1136 and 1487 is that of a largely stable and successful group of Houses. It is also a history of change and adaptations to time and circumstances.

Despite the monastic ideal of isolation from the outside world, the Scottish Cistercians had frequent contact with Scottish laity. The majority of the Houses were founded, and owed much of their wealth to the generosity of Scottish royalty. The Scottish kings made use of abbots in royal administration, and the Cistercian abbots frequently held royal office having considerable power and responsibility. The Scottish, and indeed, the English kings often enjoyed Cistercian hospitality, using the abbeys as convenient resting places for themselves and their retinues in their journeys across Scotland.

Endowment subsequent to foundation was largely the work of the Anglo-Norman families of Scotland. Relationships grew between the monks and their patrons, with patronage of the Order and particular Houses often becoming the work of several members of the same family. The monks entertained many of their patrons, and performed services ranging from providing chaplains, to permitting the burial of their patrons and their families within the abbey precincts.

The monks' contacts with laity were not always of benefit to the abbeys. There were frequent disputes with lay landowners, often including the abbeys' patrons. There were also incursions by armed men during the border disputes, and the resultant damage could be considerable.

The decline of the conversi in Scotland is not documented, but it is apparent that the Scottish Houses followed the pattern common throughout the Order: a gradual decline in the numbers of laybrothers, and their replacement by lay servants.

There is evidence of learned monks early in the history of the Scottish Houses. These men were skilled in the Scriptural scholarship of the period. However, the sources reveal a change towards an emphasis on university education. The value place on such training is demonstrated by the high proportion of abbots and monastic officials with university backgrounds. It must be noted that while there was an appreciable number of educated monks, there is little evidence of pure scholarship or intellectual endeavor within the Scottish abbeys.

There was a great deal of movement between the Houses. This included the routine Visitations by father-abbots, and administrative and agricultural contacts between the abbeys. There were also frequent elections of monks from other Houses to serve as abbots, and in other official capacities. These exchanges were commonly between Houses of the same line of descent. The frequent contacts between the Scottish abbeys must have guaranteed a uniformity of practice, and conformity, and have created a close-knit community of Houses.

The abbeys were major landowners. As previously stated, much of their wealth was the result of the generosity of their lay patrons. However, the monks extended and consolidated their holdings through purchases, rentals, and exchanges. The great majority of Cistercian lands lay within thirty or so miles of the Houses, only Melrose had properties that were very widely distributed. An examination of the records pertaining to individual lands reveals that they were by no means acquired as previously uncultivated, or wastelands. Many came burdened with feudal dues and tithes. In addition to land, the monks were well supplied with natural resources such as water, coal, peat and salt, and held considerable forest and fishing rights.

The exploitation of agricultural land was accomplished through the organisation of holdings into monastic farms, or granges, under the supervision of a member of the community. These farms pursued 'mixed' farming, being composed of a variety of arable and pasture lands. While some of the granges seem to have been created from consolidated properties, others consisted of groups of holdings lying in close proximity. The monks seem to have been successful farmers, particularly in the production of wool and skins. They were major wool-traders, exporting considerable quantities of goods to the Continent, often in their own ships.

The exploitation of Cistercian lands, and the monks' participation in trade were greatly facilitated by lay generosity in granting rights and privileges. The movement of men and animals between holdings, and the transportation of goods were eased by the Cistercians' rights of free access, and overnight pasture, and by their exemptions from interference, tolls and exactions. This made them formidable traders. a/

The agricultural successes, and the lack of major recorded debts, apart from the difficulties encountered during the frequent Border Wars, suggest strongly that the economy of the White Monks in Scotland was largely strong and stable.

An analysis of the sources leads to three main conclusions about the history of the Cistercians in Scotland. The introduction of the Order into Scotland by David in 1136 was successful. The Scottish Houses were strong foundations, and became one of the most influential of the monastic Orders in the country. They survived the political and economic problems of medieval Scotland, maintaining a prominent position in the religious life of the kingdom. By the end of the period under consideration, the Houses had lost most of their distinctive Cistercian characteristics. The conversi had long been replaced

by hired lay servants, and the direct exploitation of lands had given way to a monastic economy based on the receipt of rents from lay tenants. While the wealth of the Order was still based on the land, the monks were no longer actively involved in agriculture. The isolation of the early foundations had been eroded, and the Cistercians functioned as an integral part of the religious, political economic and social life of medieval Scotland. They were a respected and accepted part of Scottish life.

The history of the Cistercian Order in Scotland is one of steady change and adaptation to prevailing conditions within the Order and within Scotland. None of the changes described above were unusual within the Cistercian Order. Developments within Scotland paralleled those throughout the Order. While the gradual decline of strict adherence to the original ideals of the Order has been criticised by historians as a decline of standards, and monastic fervour, the changes within the Scottish Houses should, more reasonably, be seen as part of a wider picture of changes within Scotland and the Order over three centuries.

Index of Placenames Mentioned in the Text

The following places have been located through the use of modern maps, gazetteers, D. E. Easson's Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus, and maps in the collection of the National Library of Scotland.

Place	County	Abbey
Aberbothry	Perth	Coupar
Airlie	Angus	Coupar
Alvah	Banff	Coupar
Balbrogie	Perth	Coupar
Balmaclellan	Kircudbright	Dundrennan
Barry	Perth	Balmerino
Bathgate	West Lothian	Newbattle
Bendochy	Perth	Coupar
'Bereford'	unlocated	Newbattle
Borthwick	Midlothian	Melrose
Bothkennar	Stirling	Newbattle
Buckholm	Roxburgh	Melrose
Buittle	Kirkcudbright	Sweetheart
'Caddesley'	possibly Kaidlee, Roxburgh	Melrose
'Cambesley'	possibly Colmslie Roxburgh	Melrose
Carse	Carse of Gowrie, Perth	Coupar
Clerkington	East Lothian	Newbattle
Clifton	Roxburgh	Melrose
Cockpen	Midlothian	Newbattle
Crawford	Lanark	Newbattle
Crombie	Fife	Culross
Crossmichael	Kirkcudbright	Sweetheart
Coultra	Fife	Balmerino
Drimmie	Aberdeen	Coupar
Douglas, Forest of	Lanark	Melrose
Dunscore	Dumfries	Melrose
Dunpeldar	East Lothian	Newbattle

Eassie	Angus	Newbattle
'Ederpolles'	Carse of Gowrie, Perth	Coupar
Edmonston	unlocated	Melrose
Ellon	Aberdeen	Kinloss
Errol	Carse of Gowrie, Perth	Coupar
'Esth'	unlocated	Newbattle
Ettrick	Selkirk	Melrose
Fogo	Berwick	Melrose
Fossoway	Kinross	Coupar
Foveran	Aberdeen	Deer
Glengavel	Lanark	Melrose
Glenisla	Angus	Coupar
'Govertan'	Gorton	Newbattle
Grubet	Roxburgh	Melrose
Hailes	East Lothian	Newbattle
'Hartside'	possibly Berwick	Melrose
Hassendean	Roxburgh	Melrose
Heriot	Mid Lothian	Newbattle
Hownam	Roxburgh	Melrose
'Hunedun'	unlocated	Melrose
Illieston	West Lothian	Melrose
Inchmarnock	Isle of Bute	Saddell
Inchture	Carse of Gowrie, Perth	Coupar
Karintable	Carintable, Ayr	Melrose
Keithick	Perth	Coupar
Kettins	Angus	Coupar
Kilchattan	Bute	Saddell
'Kildomine'	unlocated	Saddell
'Kilkevan'	unlocated	Saddell
Kincriech	Angus	Coupar
Kingedward	Aberdeen	Deer
Kinghorn	Fife	Melrose

Kirkcolm	Wigtown	Sweetheart
Kirkmabreck	Kirkcudbright	Dundrennan
Kirkpatrick-Durham	Kirkcudbright	Sweetheart
'Kirkwinni'	Kirkgunzeon,	Dundrennan
Lammermore	Berwick	Melrose
Lauder	Berwick	Melrose
Lesmahagow	Lanark	Melrose
Loch Kinderloch	Kirkcudbright	Sweetheart
Logie Murdoch	Fife	Balmerino
Magna Cavers	Roxburgh	Melrose
Mastertown	Fife	Newbattle
Mauchline	Ayr	Melrose
Maxton	Roxburgh	Melrose
Maybole	Ayr	Melrose
'Meathie'	Angus	Coupar
Milsie	Berwick	Melrose
Moorhouse	Carse of Gowrie, Perth	Coupar
Moorfoot	Mid Lothian	Newbattle
Mow	Roxburgh	Melrose
'Newbyres'	possibly Mid Lothian	Newbattle
'New Craniston'	unlocated	Newbattle
Ochiltree	Ayr	Melrose
Peffer	possibly Peffermill, East Lothian	Newbattle
Peterhead	Buchan	Deer
'Porhoy'	unlocated	Newbattle
Preston	Berwick	Melrose
Rattray	Aberdeen	Coupar
Romanno	Peebles	Newbattle
Ruchdale	unlocated	Newbattle
St. Boswell's	Roxburgh	Melrose
'Sorrowlessfield'	Roxburgh	Melrose
Tranent	East Lothian	Newbattle
Trowup	Northumberland	Melrose

Tullibole	Kinross	Culross
'Tullifergus'	Perth	Coupar
Turriff	Aberdeen	Coupar
Westerkirk	Dumfries	Melrose
Whitelee	Ayr	Melrose
Whitton	Roxburgh	Melrose
Wigtown	Wigtown	Sweetheart

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